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SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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IZVESTIYA READERS DISAPPOINTED BY RECENT ELECTIONS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Nadein, IZVESTIYA Letters Department Editor, under the "Reading through the Mail" Rubric: "Elections in the Mirror of Feelings"]

[Text] My colleagues, whose experience in the area of elucidating the Soviets' work is indisputable, have told me that never in their memory have the readers' responses to elections been like they are these days. According to my colleagues, the mail is "simply extraordinary."

Does this opinion coincide with the appraisal of the readers themselves? The answer is not completely evident. The fact is that the editors themselves have been subjected to criticism along with several of the election campaign organizers in the localities. After emphasizing that "not only has the administrative apparatus assured itself a system of tranquility, but the Soviet organs have concerned themselves with doing the same thing," Ye.A. Novak from the city of Odintsov wrote: "The newspaper IZVESTIYA, in preparing for the present election, published items without any enthusiasm or fire, without impelling voters to think for a while about their role and the role to be played by the Soviets in restructuring."

If we were to present formal arguments, we journalists could set forth, in opposition to these recriminations, a list of pre-election publications worthy of approval by readers. However, justifications dwindle in importance when we bear the times in mind, when we recall the hopes which the public linked with this election--the first during the period of restructuring. In warning against repeating the mistakes of the past (provided, of course, that such acts may be termed "mistakes"), V.V. Gorshkov from Tashkent wrote as far back as April: "When the last election to the local Soviets was held, I had to take part in the tallying commission. In counting up the ballots after the voting, it turned out that there were not enough of them by a long shot. Possibly, some candidates did not place their ballots in the urn, thereby showing their disagreement with certain candidates. But this matter was corrected right away on the spot. A bunch of fresh ballots was brought in, and we immediately added them to the others so that the total votes came to 99.99 percent."

At the time of the pre-election preparations alarm signals came in from various places. We published some of them, while others remained unpublished. B.I. Imelin from Batami, M.G. Gaytan from the city of Zhdanov, B.A. Borisenko from Novorossiysk, G.K. Shipitsyn from Odessa Oblast--this is a far-from-complete list of readers who reported instances of formalism, secrecy, and petty trickery in "pushing forward" previously approved candidates, organizing a make-believe rivalry between candidates with the help of previously agreed-upon refusals to accept one's candidacy (this has been written about, in particular, by Yu.P. Nesterov from the Anivskiy Rayon, Sakhalin Oblast), and unworthy intrigues against completely worthy persons who had been put forth by the workers' collectives in opposition to recommendations by the leading officials. Forty-four staff members of the Automatic Production Control System Division at the Omsk Radio Plant imeni A.S. Popov indignantly informed us about attempts by V.I. Lisichkina, secretary of the plant administration's party organization, and her deputy, Yu.G. Putorakin, to cast a shadow on the engineer and communist, N.V. Razumenko. The reason for the prejudice on the part of these leading officials consisted entirely in the fact that the "rank and file" had recommended the selection of a "woman worker of Komsomol age," while the collective decided to put forth as their own candidate also a woman but one who was an engineer and a communist.

What is sad in this story is not only the fact that the zealous service workers could see as an unforgivable defect a "spontaneously" named candidate, even one who belongs to the party. The saddest thing is, perhaps, the fact that these officials were able to successfully get their own way....

G.N. Pogorelov from the city of Sorsk, Khakassk Autonomus Oblast, wrote as follows: "Some 365 persons live in our agitation center, located in a dormitory at 30A Kirov Street. An agitation center was organized here. But not once were any pre-election meetings held here; the deputies did not make any reports here, nor were any instructions received. I stated this at the gorsovet ispolkom but without getting any results. Based on what was set forth, I was compelled to submit a statement concerning my refusal to take part in the voting." In my opinion, the method chosen by Comrade Pogorelov dooms a citizen to passivity, but this in no way excuses the formalism of the local authorities.

Many letters are permeated with dissatisfaction. This is painfully annoying. However, it is impossible not to see wherein the sources of the criticism lie. Was the election conducted in a worse way than before? No, the people are writing about something else. About the fact that restructuring had aroused great hopes for changes. However, these changes proved to be less than was anticipated. A.I. Nasedkin from the city of Shostka, Sumy Oblast, writes as follows: "We all had hoped to see in the process of conducting the election the shoots of a new approach to this important political measure. But, in fact, everything was the same as during all the preceding decades."

The feelings with which people respond to the stubborn lack of desire on the part of officials to abandon their hardened, unfeeling habits of the past resound like a painfully sensitive string. The tenacity of conservatism, its plasticity and ability to adapt itself to the changing circumstances, to derive benefit from the fact that, according to all the calculations, it was supposed to be headed for destruction--all this has caused sincere alarm for

the fate of such heavily suffered changes. It is not surprising that the principal burden of the negative thoughts in our readers' mail is borne not by such words as "bad," "unconscientious," or "irritating," but "as before," "like in former years," and "without any changes"....

Openness has played a spiteful joke on the leading officials of certain regions where they have become accustomed to working in bureaucratic tranquility. For example, reports have come in from the city of Lutsk about the chagrin of a certain candidate for election who, during the pre-election campaign period "got removed from a high position with a lot of noise (and it served him right!). And this is what was written by a reader from a certain large city in the Donetsk Basin. "I'm assigning you to vote in place of me and my wife"--such was the historic sentence which our gorispolkom chairman pronounced in the telephone at 1700 hours. An embarrassing situation occurred at Election Precinct No 1: many voters and commission members were waiting for the city's mayor to show up and exchange a few sentences with the voters. Alas...."

I am not going to cite the name of the ispolkom chairman for the understandable reason that this cannot lead to the end of the check-up. However, the practice of voting "by proxy" is an indisputable fact. In former years this strange custom did not evoke any recriminations. You take the passports of your wife, grandmother, mother-in-law, present them to the election commission, and drop a whole bunch of ballots into the urn--and the system, as well as everyone in it, is pleased with such a non-burdensome civic activity. It is possible that such a practice has its advocates even nowadays. But this is only a supposition, whereas the position taken by many readers who consider such voting an "extreme form of political somnolence" (Z.A. Gataullina, from the city of Sterlitamak) is a genuine fact.

Let me return to the criticism leveled at IZVESTIYA. We are also accused of causing the disillusionment experienced by some readers. As the mail states, far from everybody understood from our articles that certain candidates would be voted for not everywhere but only in experimental districts. Upon arriving at the election precincts and seeing only one candidate on each ballot, some persons felt as if they had been "had." And if D.D. Malozemov from Omsk complained that the "booths for secret voting at Election Precinct No 22 had been set up right opposite the tables at which the inspection commission members were sitting, and the blinds were half-open," then O. Orlova from Novocherkassk considers such election booths to be "superfluous stage props" according to the principle of "four out of four."

And now we would request the attention not only of our readers but also of the political officials of the following regions. D.P. Nedbaylo from Novosibirsk: "on 21 June 1987 at 20³⁰ hours, after getting dressed (like an old fool) in my parade dress uniform with all my orders and medals, I decided to set off to vote. My wife and I arrived at Precinct No 20, and it turned out that somebody had already cast our votes." Some bitter feelings follow, which I would ask you to excuse me from reprinting here. Ye.K. Serov (Apt. 53, 70 Uglichskaya Street, Yaroslavl) writes as follows: "On election day I set off for work, and along the way I dropped in at the election precinct. There I was asked to show my passport. But I didn't have it with me. So after work I

took my passport and hurried down to the election precinct. There, after checking my name against the list, the officials pompously declared that I had already voted." His emotional expressions are also omitted here.... Similar experiences have also been written about by E.N. Bespalov and his wife, I.Yu. Bespalova, from the village of Yermolino, Borovskiy Rayon, Kaluga Oblast, M.D. Osadchaya from the city of Izmailo, Odessa Oblast....

I suppose that I must also say something about a group of letters such as a certain communication from Perm Oblast. The author pounces upon the course of the election campaign: We have 'our own' truth and 'our own' procedures...." "It is bitter to acknowledge that the changes have left us on the sidelines...." And so forth.... But the gist of the matter is that many years ago the schoolteacher who is a candidate for deputy to the local Soviet "stole" from the author's sister her husband--a "regular-staff but naive driver...." Moreover, who can guarantee that the winding twists of personal relationships will not manifest themselves in an election?

All these things are natural, albeit ancillary, accompanying companions of a democracy. And all the more bewilderment is caused by an article from the newspaper RADIANSKA UKRAINA, headlined "Are These Only Exceptions?", which was immediately sent to us by several of our readers. Although it employs veiled stipulations, this lengthy article is essentially directed against the elections held in the experimental districts. The principal brunt of its argument is as follows: outside the list of elected officials were other leaders of a solidly reliable type. In the opinion of many readers from the Ukraine, it is not often that a sharp contrast between the aspirations of the voters and the viewpoint of an influential republic-level newspaper manifests itself so openly.

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RSFSR SUPSOV PROCEEDINGS PUBLISHED

Information Report

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jul 87 p 1

[Lead article, under the caveat: "Fifth Session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the Eleventh Convocation": "Information Report on the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Sessions"]

[Text] The fifth session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the eleventh convocation, commenced at 10:00 AM, 6 July 1987, in the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow.

Deputies and guests at the session greeted with sustained thunderous applause Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, A.P. Biryukov, A.I. Lukyanov and V.A. Medvedev.

Presiding was Deputy N.M. Gribachev, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

The deputies and guests rose to pay their respects to Deputy M.A. Mikhaylov, now deceased.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet heard the report of Deputy L.I. Matveyev, deputy Credentials Committee chairman, as he checked the credentials of the deputies elected since the fourth session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the place of departed deputies. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolved to accept the credentials of Deputies A.A. Nizovtseva, I.S. Boldyrev, Yu.A. Guskov, V.A. Pobedinskiy, M.F. Sychev, R.S. Loskutov, G.F. Sukhoruchenkova, V.G. Volosovtsev, A.I. Ryabov, A.P. Firyulin, M.V. Zakharova, V.B. Pirogov, N.P. Shevchenko, V.I. Zarubin, V.F. Shipov, Yu.M. Luzhkov, V.P. Shcherbakov, Yu.S. Karabasov, P.S. Surov, N.Ye. Chelnokov, Ye.I. Bystrov, L.A. Koykolaynen, A.G. Nazarchuk, A.I. Makarenko, S.Ya. Igolkin, Yu.I. Mordvintsev, V.A. Desyatnikov, V.I. Toropov, O.A. Boriskin, A.N. Aleshin, A.F. Kovlyagin, V.A. Andreyev, V.T. Suslin, A.N. Skopintsev, V.D. Ananov, V.I. Sanayev and I.Z. Metsayev.

The agenda and work schedule of the session were unanimously approved.

The following questions were placed on the agenda of the session:

1. On Changes in the Make-up of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.
2. On Tasks for Soviet and Economic Organs of the RSFSR for Improving Trade and Public Catering in the Light of the Requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the Instructions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.
3. On the Work of the RSFSR Soviets of People's Deputies with Instructions from the Electors.
4. On Approving the Edicts of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.
5. On the Election of the Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court.

After this the deputies proceeded to examine the questions listed in the agenda for the session.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet unanimously elected Deputy I.Z. Metsayev of the North Ossetian ASSR as Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Unanimously elected as Secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet was Deputy S.I. Chistoplyasov, and Deputy Ye.D. Pokhitaylo as a member of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Kh.P. Neshkov was relieved of his responsibilities as Secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in connection with his retirement; and Yu.D. Zhurkin was relieved of his responsibilities as a member of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in connection with his transfer to other work.

Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, V.I. Kazakov, delivered a report on the second question on the agenda for the session: On Tasks for Soviet and Economic Organs of the RSFSR for Improving Trade and Public Catering in the Light of the Requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the Instructions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Delivering a supporting report from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Consumer Goods and Services to the Public was the chairman of this commission, Ye.M. Podolskiy.

After this the RSFSR Supreme Soviet proceeded to discussion of the report and the supporting report on the second question of the day's agenda. Taking part in the debate were Deputies L.G. Perekestov (Vyborg Election District, Leningrad), A.V. Medovikov (Ordzhonikidze Election District, Chelyabinsk Oblast), A.A. Nizovtseva (Dnepropetrovsk Election District, Moscow) Sh.A. Mustayev (Tetyushi Election District, Tatar ASSR), A.P. Biricheva (Velikiy Ustyug Election District, Vologda Oblast), Yu.G. Samsonov (Zasviyazhskiy Election District, Ulyanov Oblast), A.V. Zolotov (Krasnyy Kut Election District, Saratov Oblast), V.P., Shimanskiy (Korenovsk Election District, Krasnodar Kray), and V.N. Tsygankova (Central Election District, Voronezh).

The presiding officer read a petition from RSFSR Supreme Soviet Deputies N.M. Ivanenkova (Babushkinskiy Election District, Moscow), K.P. Fedoseyeva (Kakhovskiy Election District, Moscow) and S.S. Shalavina (Kamen-Uralskiy Election District, Sverdlovsk Oblast) to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on supplying a school uniform to all students. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet added the deputies' petition to the agenda for the day, in order to examine it at the end of the work of the session.

The second session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet was convened in the Great Kremlin Palace at 3:30 PM.

Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, P.N. Demichev, N.V. Talyzin, A.P. Biryukova and A.I. Lukyanov were present for the session.

Deputy N.M. Gribachev, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, presided.

Continued discussion was held on the question of the tasks of soviet and economic organs of the RSFSR for improving trade and public catering in the light of the requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the instructions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Taking part in the debate on the report and the supporting report were Deputies V.V. Donskikh (Gryazinskiy Election District, Lipetsk Oblast), G.F. Sukhoruchenkova (Ryazan Rural Election District, Ryazan Oblast), A.G. Shumeyko (Rossoshanskiy Election District, Voronezh Oblast), V.N. Demchuk (Dalnerechensk Election District, Primorskiy Kray), V.Ye. Oleynikov (Maloyaroslavets Election District, Kaluga Oblast), A.P. Chebrikov (Bezhitskiy Election District, Bryansk Oblast), A.N. Orlov (Frolovo Election District, Volgograd Oblast), G.V. Titova (Gus-Khrustalnyy Election District, Vladimir Oblast), V.S. Konarygin (Uryupinsk Election District, Volgograd Oblast), and M.V. Pichugin (Tyukalinskiy Election District, Omsk Oblast).

With this, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet concluded the debate on the second question of the agenda for the session.

Concluding remarks were delivered by V.I. Kazakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet adopted the decree: "On the Tasks for Soviet and Economic Organs of the RSFSR to Improve Trade and Public Catering in the Light of the Requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the Instructions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

The work of the session continues.

Decree on Trade, Public Catering

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jul 87 pp 1, 3

[Report on RSFSR Supreme Soviet decree: "On the Tasks of RSFSR Soviet and Economic Organs for Improving Trade and Public Catering in the Light of the Requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the Instructions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic notes that in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the soviet and economic organs of the RSFSR have mobilized for the struggle to put the party's strategic policy into action for accelerating socio-economic development, for qualitative changes in all facets of life of our society, and for further

increases in the well-being of the people. Work on restructuring being carried out in the republic is aimed at overcoming stagnation, deriving maximum benefit from the advantages of socialism, improving the management of the national economy, and increasing labor and social activeness.

In 1986 positive results were achieved in the RSFSR in all sectors of the national economy. Positive achievements have been made in solving social problems. Trade and public catering have received further development. The retail trade turnover in state and cooperative trade rose by 7.1 percent and by 5.8 percent in public catering--without sales of alcoholic beverages. There were increased sales to the public for certain food products, non-food products and constructions materials, and alcoholic beverage sales were reduced by more than one-third. The material-technical base of trade has been strengthened; the network of major department stores, supermarkets and fast food enterprises in public catering has expanded; and progressive forms of trade have been developed.

This year the branch has switched to new management conditions. Soviet and economic organs in the republic have begun to become more objectively involved with questions of planning and organization of trade and public catering, expanding the output of consumer goods by industrial enterprises regardless of their departmental subordination, and extensive use of local types of raw materials and industrial wastes for these purposes.

In the first half of 1987 the plan for retail goods turnover was fulfilled by trade organizations in Moscow, in Khabarovsk Kray, in Kamchatka Oblast and certain other oblasts.

In order to ensure a state of balance between the goods turnover and trade resources and the monetary income of the populace, industrial enterprises situated on the territory of the republic were given the task to produce additional consumer goods and render additional paid services valued at 4.2 billion rubles in 1987.

At the same time the RSFSR Supreme Soviet notes that the level of trade services in the republic to the public does not meet the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress. Restructuring is being implemented slowly in the branch. Popular demand for many consumer goods is not fully satisfied, and there are serious shortcomings in the organization of trade and public catering.

The RSFSR Trade Ministry, Rospotrebsoyuz [RSFSR Union of Consumer Cooperatives], RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies are underestimating the importance of solving the problem of producing a variety of high-quality goods for the populace; for fulfilling the planned tasks for retail trade turnover; and for strengthening monetary turnover on this basis.

The tasks of the Food Program and the Comprehensive Program for Developing Production of Consumer Goods and the Services Sphere are not being carried out completely. The RSFSR Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of the Textile Industry, and Ministry of Local Industry; the RSFSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee] and the Ministry of Bakery Products; the USSR Ministry

of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, Ministry of the Radio Industry, Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry and Ministry of the Aviation Industry; and a number of other ministries and departments of the USSR and RSFSR are not taking the necessary measures to carry out this year's assignments for production of the most important kinds of consumer goods, and for delivering them for sale to the public.

In the first half of 1987 the plan for retail trade turnover was not fulfilled for the RSFSR as a whole nor in the majority of the autonomous republics, krais and oblasts.

The RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Rospotrebsoyuz and their local organs are not actively exerting pressure on industry to increase production, expand the assortment, and improve the quality of consumer goods; and they are committing blunders in the study and forecasting of consumer demand. Applications and orders from trade have not yet become the basis for determining production volume for goods. The important national economic problem of speeding up the rate of goods turnover is not being solved, commodity resources are not being distributed equally by territory, and there are interruptions in the sale of goods of which there is sufficient supply in warehouses and bases.

Working procedures at trade and public catering enterprises have not been properly organized everywhere, especially in connection with the transition of industrial branches of the national economy to two and three-shift work operations. In North Osetian ASSR and in Kalinin, Pskov, Ivanovo and certain other oblasts, many trade and public catering enterprises operate at times inconvenient for the public.

There are serious shortcomings in the operations of the wholesale link in the formation of goods assortments and in a number of instances the proportion of unjustified intermediate shipments is high; nor has a reliable barrier been set up to prevent poor-quality goods from entering the market.

In many autonomous republics, krais and oblasts, trade in lumber and construction materials is not well-organized, and demand is not being met for bricks, sand, gravel and other kinds of materials of local manufacture.

Outstripping growth rates have not been achieved in public catering. The needs of the working people for refectories and canteens are still not being completely satisfied at their places of work and study, especially at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and Ministry of the Radio Industry; at the RSFSR Ministry of the Fuel Industry and Ministry of Housing and Civil Construction. The state of supply to the public of easily-accessible public catering establishments is still poor, and there are many complaints on the quality of the food served.

Consumer cooperatives are still not making fullest use of existing reserves for improving services to the rural populace. It happens that stores are closed for long periods due to the shortage of sales clerks; trade is not organized in the proper manner in many remote and sparsely-populated places;

and work on purchasing fruit and vegetable products from the citizens' private subsidiary farms and from gardening clubs is not carried out well.

This year sales volume is down for agricultural products sold at kolkhoz markets, and the participation of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in this trade is extremely poor.

Certain RSFSR ministries and departments, the Councils of Ministries of autonomous republics and the executive committees of Councils of People's Deputies are not showing an interest in satisfying the demand of the populace for goods and services by means of developing cooperative forms as well as individual labor activities of the citizens.

Resources allocated for developing the material-technical base of the branches by means of state capital investments, by deductions from capital investments for housing construction, and through bank loans, are not being fully assimilated. Resources from ceilings on capital investments in the trade and public catering branch are not being satisfactorily used in Bashkir ASSR, in Primorskiy Kray, and in Voronezh and Bryansk Oblasts.

Normative construction periods for trade facilities are not being observed and union-level construction ministries are systematically failing to fulfill work plans. The RSFSR Ministry of Trade and local soviet and economic authorities are not devoting sufficient attention to developing construction of trade projects by using their own resources.

The USSR Ministry of Machine Building for the Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances is not satisfying the demands of trade for technological and refrigeration equipment; nor are RSFSR Gosagroprom and the Ministry of Bakery Products meeting the need for packaged goods.

Scientific support to the branch is at a low level, and scientific progress in trade and public catering is developing at a slow rate. Soviet and economic organs have still not completely implemented their cadre policy in the branch in the light of the instructions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Leninist principles for their selection, placement and education are not always observed; little concern is shown for establishing proper working and resting conditions for workers in trade and public catering, nor for supplying them with housing, and children's institutions. Personnel turnover remains high. Standards of service are low, and such negative phenomena as waste, pilferage, violation of trade and price rules, and an inattentive attitude toward the needs and wants of the customers are slow to disappear. The prestige of the profession is plummeting.

The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic decrees:

1. The Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets and Councils of Ministers of autonomous republics; kray, oblast and the Moscow and Leningrad city soviets of people's deputies and their executive and superintendent organs; the RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Gospotrebsoyuz, and other RSFSR ministries and departments, guided by the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums, are to ensure fundamental improvement of

trade and public catering, and take effective measures to increase output of consumer goods and satisfy to the fullest the demands of the populace for them. They are to look upon these as top priority tasks in the system of measures to improve the standard of living of the Soviet people.

2. The RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Rospotrebsoyuz and those RSFSR ministries and departments which have a trade system; autonomous republic Councils of Ministers; and the executive committees of kray, oblast and the Moscow and Leningrad city soviets of people's deputies are to:

eliminate shortcomings in the work of trade and public catering enterprises; improve the use of basic production funds and the economic and cadre potential; and ensure the introduction of new management methods and the restructuring of all aspects of the activities of the branch;

implement practical measures for unconditional fulfillment of the retail trade turnover plan, be more flexible in reallocating goods and resources, develop progressive forms of services to the public, and give wide application to the work experiences of the progressive collectives;

utilize more fully the existing reserves for improving trade turnover by means of speeding up the turnover rate for goods, expand second-hand trade in non-food items, expand the sale of lumber and construction materials and goods on credit, open stores for the sale of fashionable goods, materials for technical and amateur creative work and others, and develop effective forms of trade--small-scale retail trade, trade fairs, bazaars, and sales exhibits;

exert more active pressure on industry to increase output of the necessary consumer goods, to raise their quality and expand their assortment, and to carry out their contracted obligations for delivery of consumer goods. The role of wholesale associations and enterprises in this work is to be increased, along with their responsibility for maintaining a stable assortment of goods in the stores;

improve the methods for studying and forecasting popular demand for goods and carefully coordinate this work with industrial enterprises and scientific research organizations;

raise the quality and standards of service to the customers, establish operating hours for enterprises in consideration of the needs of the workers and the transition of branches of the national economy to multi-shift operations, and root out the negative phenomena which exist in trade and public catering;

improve the selection, assignment and education of cadres. Steadfastly strive to ensure that every link in trade and public catering is headed by competent specialists who possess high political, business and moral qualities, who are capable of working under the new management system and creatively solving the problems facing the branch; and ensure the establishment of proper production and socio-domestic conditions for workers in trade and public catering.

3. The RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Rospotrebsoyuz, other RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies are to take urgent measures to improve organization of public catering, and above all at the places where the citizens work and study. They are to guarantee significant improvement in the volume of construction and reconstruction of easily-accessible public catering enterprises, speed up the introduction of industrial methods for food preparation, increase the growth rate of output of their own products, and expand the assortment and improve the quality of prepared dishes. And they are to implement measures for improving the production of meat and other agricultural products on the private subsidiary farms of enterprises, organizations and institutions.

4. Autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, executive committees of soviets of people's deputies, the RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Rospotrebsoyuz, and the RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport are to improve the organization of trade in lumber and construction materials--especially bricks, gravel, lime, sand, and other local building materials; strengthen its material-technical base, and take additional measures to ensure delivery of these products to the purchasers.

5. Rospotrebsoyuz, autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, and executive committees of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies are to ensure:

an increased level of trade services to the rural populace, especially for people who dwell in remote and sparsely-populated places, and satisfy more fully their needs for food products, and for products for cultural-domestic and household purposes;

increased procurement of agricultural products and strengthened economic ties of consumer cooperative organizations with kolkhozes, sovkhoses, citizens who have private subsidiary farms, and gardening clubs, while reducing losses during procurement, shipment, storage and sale of these products;

the development of a system of acceptance and procurement points, above all in the remote regions, as well as stores for the sale of agricultural products procured at contracted prices in cities and at industrial centers;

expanded production at consumer cooperative enterprises of preserves, sausages, confectionery and baked goods, nonalcoholic beverages; making more complete use of resources for fruits, berries, mushrooms and medicinal herbs which grow wild.

6. Autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, executive committees of soviets of people's deputies, Rospotrebsoyuz, RSFSR Gosagroprom and the RSFSR Ministry of Trade are to implement measures on improving the organization of kolkhoz trade, significantly increase shipment of agricultural products to kolkhoz markets, and render the necessary assistance to kolkhozes, sovkhoses and citizens in the sale of these products.

7. The RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Rospotrebsoyuz, and other RSFSR ministries and departments which have a trade system, autonomous republic Councils of

Ministers, and executive committees of kray, oblast and the Moscow and Leningrad city soviet of people's deputies are to ensure further development of the material-technical base for trade and public catering on the basis of the fullest use of the resources allocated for these purposes, and increasing the mechanization of labor and widespread introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

8. It was noted that the Ministry of Construction in the western regions of the USSR (Comrade Reshetilov), in the southern regions of the USSR (Comrade Shchepetilnikov), in the regions of the Urals and Western Siberia (Comrade Bashilov) and in the eastern regions of the USSR (Comrade Babenko), Rosagropromstroy [RSFSR Main Administration for Agroindustrial Construction] and RSFSR Gosagroprom (Comrade Batrakov) will take additional measures to carry out the established tasks for building trade and public catering projects in the RSFSR and for putting them into operation.

The RSFSR Ministry of Trade and Rospotrebsoyuz are to take timely action to ensure that planning and budgeting documentation and technological trade equipment are provided for trade construction projects.

9. Soviet and economic organizations in the republic should consider saturating the market with a variety of goods which are in popular demand to be a top-priority task.

RSFSR Gosplan, RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies are to:

step up organizational work for significantly improving production and making fundamental improvements to the quality of consumer goods, paying special attention to output of sporting goods for children, young people, and adults. They are to focus the efforts of administrators and the labor collectives of enterprises and organizations on manufacturing products according to the range of goods stipulated in their contracts, and ensure efficient restructuring of production to conform with orders from trade;

step up work on expanding the system of cooperatives for public catering, for domestic services to the public, for production of consumer goods, and on developing individual labor activities of citizens.

It is deemed necessary that the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry, Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, and other USSR ministries, guarantee the supply to RSFSR trade organizations of goods in the agreed amounts and proper quality and that they increase production to the volume established in the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Production of Consumer Goods and the Services Sphere; and that they expand the production of new kinds of goods which meet contemporary demands.

10. Soviets of people's deputies are to institute unflagging control over the activities of organizations and enterprises for trade and public catering, take effective measures to eliminate shortcomings in their work, and strive to

achieve a high level of services everywhere and establish the maximum convenience to the public. In this matter the role of the standing commissions, deputy groups and positions, and deputies of the Soviets of people's deputies is to be increased.

11. The RSFSR Council of Ministers is to:

increase its demands on the ministries and departments of the RSFSR, on the autonomous republic councils of ministers, and on the executive committees of kray, oblast and the Moscow and Leningrad city soviets of people's deputies for improving trade services to the public and for improving public catering in the republic; and

examine the remarks and suggestions made at the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet by the deputies during discussion of the given question, and take the appropriate measures.

12. The Commission on Consumer Goods and Services to the Public of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is to step up its monitoring of the activities of the ministries and departments of the RSFSR and those of autonomous republic Councils of Ministers and the executive committees of kray, oblast and the Moscow and Leningrad soviets of people's deputies, on further improvement of trade and public catering and supplying consumer goods to the public.

The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic expresses its firm conviction that the soviet and economic organs of the RSFSR, under the leadership of the party organizations, will take all measures to improve trade and public catering in the cities and towns of the republic, and to successfully put into practice the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums on raising the standard of living of the Soviet people.

V. Orlov, Chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

S. Chistoplyasov, Secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Moscow, the Kremlin, 6 July 1987

Kazakov Address

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jul 87 p 2

[Abridged version of report by RSFSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman V.I. Kazakov to RSFSR Supreme Soviet; Moscow, the Kremlin, 6 July 87: "On the Tasks of RSFSR Soviet and Economic Organs on Improving Trade and Public Catering in the Light of the Requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the Instructions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Deputies!

Work is being completed on a complex of decrees which will provide for fundamental reorganization of all aspects and units of the economic mechanism,

increasing the effectiveness of management, and further expanding the rights of Soviets of People's Deputies in management of socio-economic development.

A strong social policy is an organic part of the contemporary strategy of the CPSU. It will provide a further increase in the well-being of the people and more complete satisfaction of their increasing material and spiritual needs. Positive change in the social sphere is the chief goal of the restructuring, and it is namely on this that the workers will make their judgments of the effectiveness of the program of transformations proclaimed by the party.

In the past year-and-a-half of the 12th Five Year Plan, the socio-economic development of the Russian Federation has on the whole conformed with the instructions of the state plan. Indicators have improved in most branches of the national economy. In 1986 industrial production in the republic grew by 4.8 percent, and in the first half of the current year by 4.9 percent; moreover, almost all growth was achieved through increased labor productivity.

The agroindustrial complex has begun to operate more dependably, and production in most kinds of agricultural activities has noticeably improved. Moreover, there was significant growth in construction volume for projects in the social sphere. For the first time in many years the plan for introduction of housing by means of state capital investments was fulfilled. Increases took place in real per-capita income, in average wages for workers and employees and in wages for kolkhoz members.

At the same time the government of the republic takes note of the fact that the process of profound changes is fraught with great difficulties, and in a number of sectors of economic development the intended goals were not reached.

Comrades! One of the most important directions in the work of raising the national well-being is more complete satisfaction of the workers' demand for various goods. Analysis of work results in the sphere of trade indicates that certain positive changes have taken place here. Growth in retail goods turnover for 1986 (not counting sales of alcoholic beverages) amounted to 7.1 percent; its structure has improved; and the proportion of non-food items amounted to more than one-half the volume. Alcoholic beverage sales declined by more than one-third. Improvements were made in providing a variety of goods to the public, especially in the realm of cultural-domestic and household goods.

In accordance with instructions from the party outstripping growth rates were achieved in goods turnover in the rural areas. Progressive forms and methods of trade are being used more widely, and specialization was increased in concentration of the trade system. The technical equipment of the branch has improved somewhat.

However, we must admit that elements of stagnation have, of course, affected trade as well. Moreover, conservatism, the force of inertia, and old, conventional work methods are, it seems to me, especially evident in this sector.

As is well-known, trade is being developed under complex conditions—a high level of buying power among the populace and an insufficient supply of goods on the market. Thus far it has not been possible to overcome this aberration. In the year and a half of the current five-year plan the volume of retail trade turnover was underfulfilled by 11 billion rubles. Quite naturally, this entails a whole sequence of financial and economic difficulties: dissatisfaction of popular demand; a decrease in monetary circulation; failure to fulfill the plan for cash receipts; and the growth of financial issues. There is decreased interest among the branch workers in the results of their labor, and the prestige of the profession has plummeted.

The public is complaining about the lack of many goods for sale and their poor quality; about the poor development of the trade system, especially in the rural areas; about the low standard of service; about standing in line; about the passivity and careless attitude of the sales clerks; and about the poor operation of public catering.

Unfortunately, the RSFSR Minister of Trade (Comrade V.P. Shimanskiy), Rospotrebsoyuz (Comrade V.F. Yernakov) and the local trade organs have not given sufficient attention to improving the organization of trade. Many years of working under conditions of deficits has taught the workers in the branch to engage not so much in commerce, as in distribution of stocks and resources. Demand is not sufficiently studied; demand forecasting is poorly done; and orders from trade organizations do not always reflect the actual need for certain goods. Proper attention is not being given to rational distribution of goods supplies within the trade system, organizations and regions; there is no effective way to shift resources; and the technology for movement of merchandise is inadequate. All of these things inhibit the delivery of goods to the consumers.

Serious shortcomings in the organization of the trade process have not yet been eliminated as well. There are reserves here which demand nothing at all besides strengthening discipline and order in the trade system. It is primarily a question of the manner of operation of many stores--which is not convenient for the shoppers--and unjustified disruptions in trade in the most basic necessities, for which the supply is sufficient.

Progressive forms and methods of trade are not properly introduced, and tasks for overall rationalization are not being carried out. Progressive technology for delivery of merchandise with the use of packaging equipment is not being widely employed.

The small retail market has been unjustifiably reduced in the cities: here and there, under the pretext of raising trade standards, it is forbidden to set up vegetable bazaars or put up pavilions, kiosks or street stalls.

Organization of trade in lumber and building materials requires serious improvement. This will assist in solving the important social task of developing individual housing construction and collective gardening societies.

In spite of a significant improvement in market stocks, lumber and building materials do not always reach the consumer. Instances have been noted of

illegal diversion of such resources for non-market purposes--and in a number of places by decision of the local ispolkoms. Satisfactory organization of local building materials--gravel, sand, crushed rock, has occurred virtually nowhere. Enterprises of the Ministry of Motor Transport (Comrade Yu.S. Sukhin) have done a poor job in organizing delivery of building materials on orders from purchasers. Local soviet and economic organs are doing a poor job in coordinating this work.

One of the main reasons for shortcomings in the sphere of trade lies in the shortage of merchandise, and especially high-quality goods. This has evolved from the lack of organizational work on the part of the ministries, departments, autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, and kray and oblast ispolkoms on increasing production of consumer goods.

The experience of various regions in the republic bears witness to the fact that if the Soviets make use of the rights granted them and operate energetically and purposefully, success is assured. Last year for the Federation as a whole, above-plan production of goods amounted to 2.3 billion rubles; and the plan for the first six months of this year has been fulfilled as well. However, the rate of development of consumer goods production on the territory of the RSFSR is lower than the growth rate of the monetary income of the populace and the rate of goods turnover. In 1986 the absolute volume of goods production declined as well.

Leaders of many local soviet and economic organs, instead of steadfastly searching for reserves for producing goods, complain of the lack of realism in the plan for goods turnover, and their lack of supply in commodity resources. While failing to fulfill the plans with their own industries, they continually request allocation of additional funds, and especially for imported goods.

It must be acknowledged that restructuring in the branches which produce consumer goods is being implemented at a slow rate, and the capabilities of new management methods are not being fully utilized to increase their production volume.

Last year the enterprises of 12 ministries and departments of union subordination, five subordinate to the RSFSR and 25 subordinate to autonomous republics, krays and oblasts were unable to cope with the plan for production of non-food products. Significant lags were permitted by enterprises of the USSR ministries of the light and food and household appliances industry, radio industry, radio equipment industry, and aviation industry. They failed to provide goods valued at nearly 200 million rubles.

The work of the Ministry of Light Industry was subjected to serious criticism at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This pertains wholly and completely to the republic ministries of the textile and light industry as well. Shortages have not been eliminated for many articles from light industry; for shoes and clothing, and especially for children, young people and mature people. According to the totals for last year, goods valued at more than a half billion rubles were not delivered in accordance with contracted obligations. Nor are things improving in the current year.

Local industry and other branches of local subordination can do quite a bit to satisfy the needs of the public for a variety of goods. In recent years their contribution to expanding production of the simplest domestic and household articles has grown noticeably, but existing reserves are far from exhausted.

The socio-economic necessity to continue to maintain the high growth rates in goods turnover requires giving top-priority attention to increasing production of durable goods for cultural-domestic and household purposes, the market for which is extremely broad and promising.

For a number of years already, the sale of passenger cars to the public has not been increased. Since the Volga automobile plant was put into operation, the increase in production has practically ceased. The availability of cars to the populace of the republic is 3.5 times less than it is in the GDR or in Czechoslovakia.

For optimum balance in the public's income and expenditures, a radical increase in the volume of paid services is needed. This year it is to increase by 16 percent.

Increasing the quality of production, Comrades, remains a principally important question. As is well known, a number of organizational and economic measures have been adopted in recent times, right down to introduction of state acceptance; but today we must state that trade organizations have still not become a reliable barrier for unsaleable, poor-quality goods. Otherwise how can one explain the fact that last year every second color TV and every fifth tape recorder sold was returned for guaranteed repairs or was scrapped?

The task for decisively improving the supply to the public of a variety of high-quality food products is become especially important at the contemporary stage. Today, as was noted at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the situation with respect to production of food items is, on the whole, improving. Noticeable invigoration is taking place in the economic life of the agroindustrial complex. Thus, last year in the Russian Federation total agricultural production volume increased by 7.0 percent.

It goes without saying that these positive changes are being reflected in the sphere of trade as well. More milk, eggs and groceries and certain other items are being sold. Production of nonalcoholic beverages, ice cream and juices is increasing. This year the oblasts are displaying increased interest in supplying products from animal husbandry to the public by virtue of increasing local production.

However, it must be acknowledged that no fundamental improvement in the supply of food products to the public has yet occurred.

In many regions, organization for production and sale of early vegetables and greens is wholly unsatisfactory.

Presently, at the height of summer, even in the south there is nothing to buy in the stores except leeks and imported cabbages. Agricultural industries which stubbornly specialize in hothouse farming of mainly long varieties of

cucumbers still devote little attention to increasing the production of early vegetables or greens, or in expanding their assortment. The practice of sowing crops in stages is not being followed. As a result, trade operates on the principle of "feast or famine." And large losses are permitted in procurement, processing, storage and sales of products.

The experience of Kurgan Oblast in organization of storage for vegetables and potatoes has been well-known throughout Russia for a long time now. Delegations keep coming here from all over: they look, they exclaim, and they make studies--but more often than not things don't go anywhere. As a result, spoilage and losses of potatoes, fruits and vegetable products have hardly been reduced anywhere; on the contrary, they are increasing. The blame here falls on both the farmers and on the soviet officials in the localities.

As before, the problem of the quality of food products remains severe and is cause for dissatisfaction among the public. The number of complaints for poor bread, sausages, or dairy and confectionery products has not declined. This year production and sales of poor-quality dairy products led to five outbreaks of mass illness. Thus, in May more than 1,500 people in Ussuriysk, children included, became sick for this reason.

Today consumers' cooperatives are occupying an increasingly important place in providing food to the public. Trade in agricultural products on commission is developing at a fast rate, and planned tasks are being significantly overfulfilled. For the year 1986 alone, cooperative turnover grew by 21 percent, and sale of meat products through city cooperative trade increased more than threefold for the five-year plan. Surplus meats yielded up by the populace are being sold in cooperative trade in ever-increasing amounts. This represents a tangible supplement to state resources.

But even here there are considerable unrealized possibilities. Complaints are coming in from the public on difficulties in selling agricultural products. Suffice it to say that of the total output of fruits and vegetables from the citizens' private farms only 5-10 percent is purchased.

In a number of oblasts the material-technical base and transportation support of procurement organizations are extremely poor, and they are not being given sufficient local support. Lack of procurement agents has become a serious problem.

In a number of places a large number of cattle from private farms have become state resources. Instead of increasing meat production in the public sector, the Mordovian ASSR and Bryansk Oblast are fulfilling up to one-fourth of the state plan by virtue of procurement of cattle from the public. In Orlov and Orenburg Oblast, up to 20 percent are procured in this manner. And at the same time, every third rural household in the RSFSR has no cattle at all, and the country dwellers themselves are beginning to shop for food just as city dwellers do.

In the course of a popular survey, people's control authorities investigated 1,600,000 private farms. The survey showed that only one-fifth of the populace does not want to keep cattle, and others do not keep them because of

the shortage of calves, feed and grazing land. A reduction in the cattle population has taken place in 50 oblasts, and is especially severe in Bryansk, Leningrad, Tula, Ryazan and Ivanovo Oblasts.

Not long ago, in accordance with a resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, all kolkhoz markets were transferred to consumer cooperatives. This is an important step. And the task of the local Soviets is to help them in every way in organizing retail trade. For the time being the situation here is complex and quite a few problems have accumulated. Last year sale of agricultural products at the markets actually declined by 8.0 percent. In places supplies available for trade are only one-third of the norm. Only 14 percent of the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses take part in market trade, and they sell less than 2.0 percent of state procurement of potatoes, fruits and vegetables. But you see, they are authorized to sell up to 30 percent.

There are a number of reasons for this. Many kolkhoz and sovkhos administrators simply do not want the extra burden, and at times this trade is unprofitable. Obviously it is high time to make a serious economic analysis of this question, and the farms must begin to take an interest in market sales.

And now permit me to dwell separately on certain problems in public catering. It fulfills an important social function and at the same time is a significant reserve for expanding the goods turnover. At the present time every other citizen of the republic utilizes the services of public catering, and in the cities and workers' communities 66 percent do so. Service is improving at the workplaces, and a specialized network of fast-food establishments is expanding; industrial methods of food preparation are being introduced, and locally-prepared products are increasing. In a number of places the development of public catering is being carried out on the basis of specially developed comprehensive special-purpose programs.

At the very same time many local soviet and economic organs have not yet met with the necessary success. Suffice it to say that only half the oblasts, krays and autonomous republics have a sufficient number of workers' dining facilities in the localities. Public catering is not properly organized at enterprises and construction projects in the Mari and Yakutsk Autonomous Republics, and in Kaluga and Sakhalin Oblasts. In those places they have chronically failed to carry out the tasks for developing the system of dining halls and buffets, and existing facilities represent no more than 70 percent of the norm. In certain cities even major industrial enterprises have neither departments for taking orders for goods or services, much less delicatessen shops.

One cannot but be disturbed by the serious lags in an easily-accessible public catering system, which is on the whole developed by virtue of 5.0 percent deductions from housing construction.

Special attention should also be devoted to organizing public catering at VUZ's and at specialized secondary schools, elementary schools and vocational-technical schools. Local authorities, Minpros [Ministry of Education], Minvuz

[Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education] and Gosprofobr [State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education] must change their attitude toward this important social question--maintaining the health of the upcoming generation.

Cooperative and individual forms of labor activity are called upon to become an important supplement to the state system of satisfying the needs of the Soviet people for goods and services. More than 1,500 cooperatives already exist in the republic in public catering and domestic services, as well as in the manufacture of goods.

Comrade Deputies! The current five-year plan must become a major new advance in the development of the material-technical base for trade and public catering. Suffice it to say that toward these ends, capital investments have been allocated in an amount twice as large as in the preceding five-year plan. But how are they being assimilated? For example, the wholesale base for food products in Arkhangelsk has been under construction for more than ten years, as has a department store in Groznyy. In Moscow a 21,000 ton-capacity refrigerator has been under construction for three years, and in all that time only a little over 10 percent of the estimated cost of the project has been assimilated. Glavmospromstroy [Moscow Main Administration for Industrial construction], the contractor, is asking that the deadline for completion be put off; meanwhile, more than 20 percent of the meat for the capital has to be stored in other oblasts.

It is as if the contracting construction ministries have no intention of fulfilling the plan for the facilities beyond their usual 80-90 percent. RSFSR Mintorg [Ministry of Trade], meanwhile, is also making its own "contribution" to the braking process, if one can put it that way: for a number of years now it has not satisfactorily resolved the questions of providing planning-estimating documentation and equipment for the construction projects on a timely basis.

Once again, many ministries are planning a clear reduction in construction volume for projects in this sphere. There is no way one can consent to this.

The task for strengthening the material base of trade and public catering in every possible way requires decisive acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the branch. But in terms of technical equipment and the current level of mechanization the branch is still among the most backward. The supply of modern technical trade equipment to the enterprises is altogether unsatisfactory--in the range of 30-40 percent.

Since July 1987 all trade organizations in the republic have been switched to new management conditions wherein the independence of the enterprises has been significantly expanded and prospects have been opened to take advantage of the most economic methods of management and to widely introduce profit and loss accounting and self-financing. Deductions for the wage fund and for the production and social development funds will be made on the basis of the end results of the work of the trade enterprises. And a new procedure has been established for the interaction of trade and industry. Plans for consumer goods production will be developed on the basis of orders from trade, which

take into consideration the results of wholesale trade fairs.

The planning process has been principally changed as well. Since 1 January 1987 planning for the volume of goods turnover and market supplies has been turned over to local authorities. The rights and responsibilities of local authorities have been increased as well for objectivity in distribution of resources and for the level of supply, and opportunities have been created for shifting goods resources. Procedures for using resources of the products of animal husbandry and horticulture have been changed as well. Market supplies for these products have not been established for oblasts, krays and republics. Only stable volumes of subsidies or deductions for the union republic fund have been established for all the years of the five-year plan. The level of supply to the populace will now depend on local output of products.

The Penza Oblast Ispolkom is taking a consistent and creative approach to questions of improving trade services to the public. They have developed and approved a five-year program for development of trade and public catering. Practically every deputy of the oblast soviet is monitoring its fulfillment. A highly-mechanized manufacturing plant has been established in Penza, which allows 60 percent of the food products to be sold in packaged form. In addition, the plant fills about 220,000 orders a day which are then distributed at the workplaces. A unified dispatcher service, which is concerned with filling orders and delivering them on a timely basis, has been set up in the oblast; 90 percent of the orders are shipped to the trade system from a central point.

One can say that by virtue of their specific nature, trade and public catering are most closely associated with the work of rayon, city, settlement and rural soviets. And wherever attention and support is given to the matter, the results are positive.

For example, the ispolkom of the Volzhskiy City Soviet in Volgograd Oblast has worked out and approved a special-purpose comprehensive program for developing trade services to the populace of the city. Along with questions of developing production the program addresses social problems as well. Two young people's dormitories have already been built for trade workers, with a capacity of 190 persons each, as well as a rest area; and places have been allocated in children's preschool institutions.

The concern which they have displayed has helped to stabilize the food trade collective in Volzhskiy, and the planned task for goods turnover for 1986 and this year are being fulfilled. There is no waste and pilferage in trade. And this is not an isolated example.

Serious criticism was expressed at the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet with respect to the report of the chairman of the Chelyabinsk Oblispolkom, Comrade Ye. F. Kurakin. It was pointed out that the ispolkom is making poor use of the rights extended to it in solving questions of socio-cultural construction. And there are large shortcomings in the organization of trade, including trade at kolkhoz markets.

Little attention is devoted in the oblast to increasing the output and raising the quality of consumer goods, for developing public catering at the workplace and on the open market, and for rendering paid services.

Ispolkoms must be quicker to take advantage of the rights extended to them for improving the management structure. In some small populated places several trade systems of unrelated subordination are in operation at the same time. Parallelism in their operation significantly reduces the effectiveness of management of the branch, complicates the use of trade resources, and makes it difficult to achieve specialization and concentration of the trade system.

Structural questions require resolution in the system of consumer cooperatives as well. As is well-known, in recent years the raypotrebsoyuz [rayon union of consumers' cooperatives] have been basically transformed into raypo's [rayon consumer societies]. Under the conditions in the Russian Federation, with the widely scattered system of towns and villages, and a lack of a stable transportation system, the elimination of the selpo [rural consumer cooperative] turned out to be unjustified in a number of places. The ispolkoms of rural Soviets and the administration of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses were for all practical purposes isolated from the activities of the consumer societies, and lost their ties with the shareholders and with the populace. Apparently it would be wise to restore the rural consumers' cooperatives where appropriate.

Fundamental changes must be made in the style of operation of all administrative links in trade and public catering, and work with cadres in the branch must be raised to a principally new level. Of course we all understand that fundamental improvements in work with the cadres must begin first of all in the administrative links--from the store director to the responsible officials in Mintorg and Rospotrebsoyuz. Unfortunately, no noticeable changes have yet taken place here.

There are still a lot of officials in the branch who are devoted to the old methods and are not receptive to the new. Retraining and the professional and economic training of the supervisory cadres are poorly organized. Supervisory positions are quite often given to poorly-trained people with little initiative, and quite often without sufficient investigation of their business, political and moral qualities. It is no accident that the level of waste and pilferage is slow to decline in cooperative trade, and there are instances of bribery as well. You undoubtedly know from the central and local press of the judicial proceedings under way against trade officials including some occupying high administrative positions.

But that, apparently, is not the main thing. Educational work is found to be at a low level in many trade enterprises. Shortcomings rooted in the collective system have been exposed often enough to create a lack of confidence and an unhealthy atmosphere. Young workers and specialists do not want to work under such conditions and are departing for other branches.

For years soviet and economic authorities have been underestimating the socio-domestic needs of the workers in the branch; this practice must be smashed. Labor in trade and public catering, where mostly women are employed, remains hard, and is associated with great physical burdens.

In a word, the state of affairs in the branch demands greatly increased attention to the social problems of its workers on the part of the republic and local soviet and economic organs.

Podolskiy Speech

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jul 87 p 3

[Abridged account of Supporting Report by Deputy Ye.M. Podolskiy, chairman, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Consumer Goods and Services to the Public]

[Excerpts] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Consumer Goods and Services to the Public maintains constant supervision over the execution of production plans for these goods, for raising their quality, and for developing the services sphere. Reports were delivered at the session of the commission from the RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Rospotrebsoyuz, and the RSFSR Ministry for Consumer Services. A question on the work of the soviet and economic organs of the Mordovian ASSR on expanding production and raising the quality of consumer goods and improving trade in them was examined at a session of the commission.

In preparing for the present session, the deputies serving on the commission studied the state of affairs in 14 regions of the republic. Suggestions and observations from a number of ministries and departments were examined as well.

In the name of the commission permit me to dwell on certain questions.

First of all it must be noted that the industrial enterprises of many ministries and departments, as well as local soviets, are inexcusably slow in increasing output of consumer goods. Almost 17 percent of the industrial enterprises no longer participate in such production at all. Half of the enterprises in the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry do not take part, and 69 percent of the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry do not produce consumer goods. This year, 34 percent of the enterprises in Kalinin Oblast are not taking part in consumer goods production, and in Orenburg Oblast and the Komi ASSR, 30 percent are not doing so.

Such practices cannot be tolerated. The ministry administrations and local soviets must show more business sense and more flexibility. This requires restructuring from all of us, and new methods of management.

The Commission finds it altogether unacceptable that a number of ministries are generally lowering their annual plans for consumer goods production in opposition to the requirements of the Comprehensive Program. One gets the impression that they do not consider its implementation mandatory for them. In Mordovian ASSR, for example, the 1987 plan for production of consumer goods

was reduced by 52 million rubles, as opposed to that stipulated by the Program. The Alekseyevskiy Asbestos Cement Articles Combine of the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry (Comrade Voenushkin) brought forth a plan in the amount of 2.9 million rubles instead of the 9.8 million the Program calls for. Such incidents have been noted in other enterprises in the republic as well. Repeated requests by the Mordovian ASSR Council of Ministers to bring up the plan indicators to correspond with those of the Program did not receive the proper support on the part of many ministries.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers and USSR Gosplan must examine this question and increase their demands on the ministries and departments for unconditional fulfillment by all enterprises of the tasks stipulated by the Program.

The problem of satisfying popular demand for goods in the children's assortment remains extremely critical.

The problem of supplying a school uniform to the pupils has not been solved in the republic. The Ministries of Light Industry (Comrade Zatelepa) and the Textile Industry (Comrade Paramonov) are completely unable to cope with the demands for fabrics for these purposes.

Industry often reduces production of necessary children's goods without the consent of trade. At their meetings with candidates and deputies, the electors pointed to these and other shortcomings in satisfying popular demand for children's goods.

Soviet and economic organs and labor collectives must focus primary attention on the quest for ways to fundamentally improve the quality of consumer goods. Trade organizations could do a great deal in this matter as well. However the RSFSR Ministry of Trade (Comrade Shimanskiy) and its local authorities, which have a large staff for quality control, are not properly adhering to principle in their work; they have little influence on industry and frequently accept poor-quality goods; they tolerate disruptions in the supply of trade goods and improper distribution of commodity resources by regions; and they do not study demand sufficiently.

Major measures are being undertaken for further increase in the production rates for agricultural products. Along with the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the organs of Gosagroprom, the consumer cooperatives possess great reserves here, especially by virtue of increasing the procurement of surplus agricultural products from the public.

However, these possibilities are not being fully utilized. Rospotrebsoyuz (Comrade Yermakov) is not displaying the proper persistence in eliminating shortcomings in the work of its subordinate organizations in the localities, nor in increasing their responsibility for carrying out planned tasks and expanding consignment trade in the cities and industrial centers. The tasks established for Rospotrebsoyuz for 1986 for procurement of potatoes from the public was fulfilled by only 79 percent; for vegetables, 76 percent; fruits, 69 percent; and vegetable oil by 80 percent. In the first quarter of this year procurement of meat products was below last year's level in 20 regions. There is very little procurement from the public of vegetable crops

which are not widely dispersed. Nor is work properly organized for procurement of products from gardening clubs.

In recent years consumer cooperatives have sharply reduced procurement of wild fruits, berries, mushrooms and honey. Procurement of honey from its primary suppliers, Bashkir ASSR and the Altay, Maritime and Khabarovsk Krays, has been radically reduced.

What are the reasons for this? Chiefly, they are found in the fact that the "producer-procurer-final consumer" mechanism functions poorly; its material-technical base is weak, and especially in the primary links, procurement points and stores.

In consideration of the increasing role of private subsidiary farms in the matter of expanding food resources, Rospotrebsoyuz must step up its work on procurement of surplus agricultural products from the public, and guarantee the assortment, volumes and prices for the products procured. Soviet authorities in the localities must assume unflagging supervision of the work of consumer cooperative organizations. They must be given every assistance.

The Commission considers it necessary to raise the question of outstripping development in the consumer cooperative system of the entire network of acceptance-procurement and processing enterprises, of developing and organizing output of modern sets and lines of equipment for them; and of construction of refrigerators, and vegetable, potato and fruit storage facilities. They must strive to create in every oblast, kray and autonomous republic a truly multi-branch, highly-effective cooperative system. In order to speed up the resolution of these questions and to equip the trade organizations with modern means of mechanization and packaging, Rospotrebsoyuz must have its own appropriate industry.

The following question also deserves our attention: In many autonomous republics, krays and oblasts, the possibilities for expanding production of fresh-water fish are poorly utilized. The capacities of ponds belonging to the RSFSR Ministry of the Fishing Industries are only 66 percent realized. Fish pond industry is lagging in the oblasts and autonomous republics of the Volga Basin, as well as in Kalinin, Gorkiy, Novgorod, Yaroslavl, Orlov, Vladimir and Omsk Oblasts.

Incidentally, in those places where the fishing industry is properly organized, the demands of the populace for food products are to a large extent met by fish. Thus, in Krasnoyarsk Kray, where the Live Fish Program was successfully implemented, the harvest of fish from fresh-water reservoirs reached 30,000 tons in 1986; in Rostov Oblast it reached 38,000 tons.

In Sverdlovsk, Kostroma and Tula Oblasts the use of warm water from state regional power stations and atomic power stations permitted a significant increase in fish production in a short time. However, these possibilities are poorly used in the Bashkir, Tatar and Buryat Autonomous Republics, in Krasnoyarsk Kray, and in Smolensk, Kemerovo and a number of other oblasts. And, you see, industrial enterprises in Lipetsk, Kaluga and Moscow Oblasts have begun to set up fishing industries in cooperation with the RSFSR Ministry

of the Fishing Industry, the production from which is sold in the labor collectives. We believe that such initiative should be supported in every way.

The level of development of public catering remains low in Leningrad, Moscow, Orel, Pskov and Ryazan Oblasts, in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR and on a number of other territories.

In the RSFSR as a whole plans for expanding the system of public catering enterprises are chronically unfulfilled. For 1986, for example, this indicator amounted to only 64 percent. Dining halls are extremely inadequate in Novosibirsk and Chita Oblasts, and in the Kabardino-Balkar, Tuva and Yakutsk ASSR's. In many workers' and student dining halls, the capacity has been exceeded three- and fourfold. At the same time plans for putting new facilities into operation are disrupted every year.

There is an exceptional amount of shortcomings in the organization of public catering for students at elementary schools and vocational-technical schools.

In the Russian Federation, 82 percent of the elementary schools and vocational-technical schools are equipped with dining halls, and the ratio is significantly lower in 23 territories, above all in Irkutsk, Kirov, Kurgan, Orenburg and Chita Oblasts and in the Yakutsk ASSR. In the republic, 37 percent of the elementary school buffets do not have the capability to offer hot food to the students. And in the rural areas, 3,400 secondary and eight-year schools do not have dining halls or buffets at all.

The situation at higher educational institutions is no better. For 1986 the plan for increasing the number of student dining halls was fulfilled by only 13 percent.

The Commission believes that Mintorg, Rospotrebsoyuz, Minpros [Ministry of Education], Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education], Gosprofobr [RSFSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education], and local soviets of people's deputies must take radical measures to improve the organization of feeding the pupils and students.

A fundamental change must also be made in attitudes toward questions of increasing the production and sale to the public of semi-finished products; delicatessen, pastry and confectionery goods; and bread and rolls.

I would also like to dwell on such important questions as improving the working and living conditions for trade workers. Unfortunately, many soviets of people's deputies and administrators of trade enterprises do not devote the proper attention to this. Almost 88 percent of the workers in this branch are employed at manual labor. Progressive technological equipment is slow to be introduced: only 18 percent of the goods are offered in prepackaged form and only 6.7 percent in containers.

Local soviets of people's deputies, the RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Rospotrebsoyuz, and the central committees of the unions for workers in trade and consumer cooperatives must display greater determination in creating the best conditions for labor, living and recreational conditions for workers in state and cooperative trade and in public catering. In RSFSR state trade alone, over 260,000 persons require improved living conditions, and 70,000 children of the employees are not provided preschool facilities.

9006

CSO: 1800/778

NOTES FROM IVANO-FRANKOVSK ODKOM PARTY PLENUM

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jul 87 p 2

[Article by V. Nazarchuk: "To Acknowledge the Facts Is Half the Battle: Notes from the Ukrainian CP Ivano-Frankovsk Odkom Party Plenum"]

[Text] On the eve of the plenum the oblast newspaper PRIKARPATSKA PRAVDA reported on a sharp conflict between the workers of the forging-and-pressing section and the administration of the Ivano-Frankovsk Reinforcement Plant. The climax of this story was preceded by a whole series of events. On several occasions the workers here had raised questions about improving working conditions and bettering the wage system. These matters were also brought directly to the attention of V.I. Naychuk, the plant director, and A.A. Sergeyev, the partkom secretary. Unfortunately, these communist officials ignored these justifiable demands.

The situation became exacerbated after the enterprise was converted to self-financing and self-supporting production [samookupayemost]. Instead of seriously preparing for this step and adopting the entire arsenal of means capable of enlivening economic activity, thereby ensuring the necessary profits, the plant confined itself to merely revising the production norms. Moreover, this decision was adopted secretly, without any sort of consultation with the collective. And so on one ill-fated day people came to collect their wages and saw that they had received considerably less money for the same amount of work as before. It was only then that they learned about the production norms having been raised. By way of expressing their disagreement with this, they drew up a message to the director. However, V.I. Naychuk again did not pay any attention to this. The partkom also remained on the sidelines, pretending that nothing special had occurred. It was only upon understanding, as one of the forge workers put it, that they "were being intentionally deceived," that the workers took the extreme measure of stopping their work with a firm determination to assert their own rights....

It was not by chance that I began my notes from the party odkom plenum with this fact. It was here that discussions were held on the tasks of the party oblast organization with regard to implementing the decisions made by the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It casts light, so to speak, on the shortcomings which exist in the process of introducing new management methods in many of the oblast's labor collectives, in the style of work being

followed in certain party organizations under the conditions of democratization and openness, for which this party obkom was criticized at the July (1987) Plenum of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. And it was precisely in this context that the incident which took place at the reinforcement plant was cited in the report delivered by I.G. Postoronko, the first secretary of the party obkom.

The speaker did not weary the obkom's members and invited guests with a recital of achievements, which, in general, are indisputable. For the first time the entire increase in production volumes during the first half of this year was obtained by means of the growth in labor productivity, a number of other indicators were fulfilled, positive shifts were outlined in all sectors of the national economy, the principle of selecting the leading officials was affirmed, and the oblast emerged as an initiator in creating new economic formations in the agroindustrial sector. For example, for the first time in this republic the Kolomyyskiy Rayon witnessed the founding of the Prut Agrofirma, which combined enterprises engaged in growing and processing farm products; without a doubt the direction being taken is progressive and has good prospects for the future. In short, there are positive shifts. But the words spoken by the first secretary about the need to critically evaluate what has been achieved and to look at the work which has been accomplished not from yesterday's viewpoint but that of today and tomorrow are completely understandable. For, of course, in the matter of restructuring the economic mechanism and administering the economy a mass of unsolved problems remain.

The oblast is not fulfilling the plans for selling products in accordance with agreed-upon contracts. Particularly alarming is the fact that almost all the enterprises which this year converted to self-financing and self-support, to working under the conditions of state acceptance, are not fulfilling their production assignments. Such enterprises include this same reinforcement plant, the Khlorvinil, Karpatpressmash, Kolomyiaselmash, Ivano-Frankovsk Garment Associations, and others. And it is this which compelled the obkom to acknowledge that conversion to the new conditions has indicated the economic illiteracy of many economic managers and their inability to work independently.

However, to acknowledge the facts is half the battle. This must be followed by a profound analysis of how to proceed further and into what channel party committees should direct their efforts. Because, of course, beginning with next year, most of this oblast's enterprises will convert to self-financing.

"Surely there has also been some positive experience?" S.V. Vysotskiy, partkom secretary of the Karpatpressmash Production Association, asked from the rostrum. "It would be very useful to draw generalizations from it."

Alas, the communists at the plenum did not hear about any such experience. In general, analysis of the practical experience of labor collectives under the new conditions and the role played by party organizations in restructuring the economic mechanism left much to be desired. Just take, for example, that same incident at the reinforcement plant. It was mentioned in the report as follows: a check-up on the activities under the conditions of full cost accounting at the Ivano-Frankovsk Reinforcement Plant revealed significant

mistakes and omissions. But, of course, this is understood. So this should have been followed by much more profound and effective conclusions so that similar stories could be avoided in the future.

It must be said that there was no lack of generalities uttered at the plenum. To be sure, G.P. Bezsmertnyy, first secretary of the Nadvoryanskiy Party Raykom, attempted to fill in some of the gaps; he brought up the matters of sociological studies in party work, the need to formulate economic and political thinking among party officials and economic managers. Elements of an analytical approach to problems were also examined in the speeches made by R.I. Shumilina, obkom buro member and machine operator at the magnesium plant of Kaluga's Khlorvinil Production Association, I.V. Ilyk, first secretary of the Snyatynskiy Party Raykom, and T.K. Podobriy, secretary of the Kaluga Party Gorkom. However, let's give some thought to the following: what will be taken back with them to their own party organizations by this same partkom secretary of the Karpatpressmash Production Association, S.V. Vysotskiy, or his colleague, the partkom secretary of the Geofizpribor PO [Production Association], V.S. Oblogin, or other communists? Will it be the formula: "The Ivano-Frankovsk Party Gorkom should render aid to the primary party organizations..."? But the gorkom has already "rendered aid" for several years in a row, and matters have not improved because of this. Moreover, S.V. Vysotskiy requested that no more "persons rendering aid" be sent to them. Because, of course, they come out from the main administration, the ministry, and even from other higher-ranking organizations--and the results are always the same. Has it become clearer to the secretaries of the primary party organizations after this plenum how they should introduce cost accounting or how to work under the conditions of self-support? Hardly....

Frequent mention was made at the plenum of the resolution of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee regarding the report of the Ivano-Frankovsk Party Obkom on carrying out the mandates of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee with regard to expanding intra-party democracy, openness, as well as the development of criticism and self-criticism. The appropriate measures of the party obkom were worked out and approved. The party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms must, above all, ensure the development of collectivism and creativity in the life of the primary party organizations, increase their independence, aggressiveness, and activism in conducting personnel policy, teach party officials to take a political approach to matters, and to have the ability to work under the conditions of an expanding democracy. That is, what we are talking about here is primarily a matter of enhancing the role to be played by the primary party organizations. But what is their role in reality? These organizations are like military units deployed at the disposition of the oblast-level party organization, but the necessary attention was not accorded to them at the plenum. The stereotype of the usual approach is being developed according to which the analysis of living practical experience is replaced by a passionless formulation: the party organization is being restructured rapidly or slowly, and it is solving or not solving this or that problem; it is confronted with such-and-such a task. In other words, the same general phrases all over again. Thus, it was mentioned that the primary organizations of the Ivano-Frankovsk Furniture Factory, the Kaluga Karpatneftemash Plant, the Otdelspetstroy SU [Construction Organization], and certain others have been skilfully restructuring their work. But as to what

this restructuring consists of or how the above-listed enterprises are working under the conditions of democratization--it is scarcely possible even to guess. And is it not here that we see revealed the undervaluation of the role to be played by the party's basic unit, as well as its possibilities, and that nobody is in any hurry to draw generalizations from the experience of party work in the localities?

The idea of the need to increase the aggressiveness of the primary organizations is reflected in the plenum's resolution. These organizations have been assigned the following top-priority tasks: to prepare for the conversion to full cost accounting and self-support, to inculcate staff personnel with economic thinking, as well as a readiness for and receptivity to new things. There is no objection to this here. Because, of course, it is precisely this which is the key to solving the chief task--the actual implementation of restructuring in the economy as well as in the minds and attitudes of people. But it is not enough to assign tasks. It is no less important to point out the ways to solve them and help communists to find their own places within restructuring. This should now be the goal undertaken by the oblast-level party organization and its obkom.

V.A. Saprykin, sector chief of the CPSU Central Committee's Propaganda Department, took part in the plenum's work. A speech was delivered at the plenum by B.I. Korobko, chief of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Chemical Industry Department.

2384

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RAYKOM OFFICIAL DISMISSED FOR ANONYMOUS SLANDER OF SUPERIOR

Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 18 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by V. Krokhmalyuk and Ye. Yampolskyy, special correspondents for RADYANSKA UKRAYINA: "'A Shot' in the Back (Why the Second Secretary of the Khmelnytsky Party Raykom Was Ousted From the CPSU)]

[Text] We don't really know what was in the heart of Mykhaylo Favrylovych Drozd when we met him. We only noted that he looked confident, just as if nothing had happened. Only when he discovered the reason for our conversation did he become a little gloomy. At first he thought that we came to him on strictly official business.

"He disgraced himself by writing an anonymous slanderous letter." Obviously, this is a grave and serious charge. Everybody with whom we spoke at Khmelnytskyy was outraged. One can understand such a reaction from his friends; after all, it concerned not only a communist, but the second secretary of the Khmelnytsky Raykom.

How such a thing could have happened is a question that bothers everybody. One hopes that the motive for this was not just simply a narrow-minded selfish one. They say that to understand a person at the same time means partly to forgive him. But here the situation is different: to understand the situation means to learn how to prevent it from happening again. Such a lesson seems worthwhile.

"It was done in a fit of rage," said M. Drozd at first, trying to explain it. He offered more precise motives, specifically that he had disagreements with the first secretary of the raykom, V. Shevchenko, which stemmed from the admission of several people into the party. The first secretary did not agree with him. Later it became known that the time between the incident with the party membership and the writing of the anonymous letter was at least 4 months. Thus, the "in a fit of rage" explanation lost its credibility.

Mykhaylo Favrylovych then claimed, especially during a discussion with us, that there were no proper conditions for the free and, especially safe expression of opinions which are at odds with the opinions of the first secretary.

"Quite a few people who preceded me lost their job because of disagreements with Shevchenko," said M. Drozd. To our question as to why he did not express his opinions to the oblast party committee, he answered: "You know, they listen only to the first secretary...", and then added, "And, after all, I did not want to be the only one to be different..."

How did he reach this stage? Such a question threatens to remain just rhetorical, especially when the excuses of youth (at the age of 42!), or an almost fatal situation, or unexplainable reason are used. However, everything is probably much simpler and serious.

Is it really enough to be satisfied with the excuses that this case was "atypical" and "unusual"? It is much more advantageous to learn from what happened. However, to do this one needs to follow it step by step, without any compromises, and honestly to analyze the road which has led to such a serious moral downfall.

Until very recently one could only be proud of M. Drozd: he is from a worker's family, began working in a shop, served in the army, received his degree in economics from a college in the capital, was recommended for party work, received higher political and party education, and became member of the rayon party committee. After serving as instructor there, he was appointed second secretary of the rayon party committee.

Where and how were the problems concerning M. Drozd overlooked, and why were they not examined? And, finally, who is personally responsible for this downfall?

In discussions senior comrades and colleagues at work give M. Drozd his due in reference to his competency and organizational abilities. But what is the official opinion of him as a worker and a communist?

At the rayon party committee we can look at personnel records, but character assessment is to be found there. The comrades just shrug their shoulders--he was recommended from the oblast committee, and that was good enough for them.

When he was taken to the oblast committee to work, in his file under the heading of "character assessment" it was noted that: "occasionally he takes criticism very sensitively." Such a defect is serious, and obviously requires that something be done... that is, if such comments are written seriously, for the benefit of the person, and not just in a perfunctory manner, just to list some positive and negative qualities. We bring this up because several years pass and the oblast committee continued to provide the same comment "occasionally he takes criticism very sensitively..." Such criticism is not worth much if it continues to accompany a person through the years, without ever changing.

It would be natural to find out from personnel records who personally recommended the comrade for such an important and independent position at the rayon committee, and who had discussions with him. In other words,

who personally vouched for him. However, his file has no traces of such records....

Even the comrades who handle official business at the oblast committee also shrug their shoulders: he was recommended by us, so all the formalities are not necessary. No, this is not a bureaucratic case. First of all, glasnost in reference to recommending workers should not be ignored, especially in such serious matters. One doesn't have far to look for facts. Just recently the Khmelnytsky Raykom plenum discussed the tasks of structuring and cadre policy. Among the items of most concern to members of the rayon committee are anonymous personnel transfers.

H. Filipova, secretary of the party organization of a mobile mechanized column, said: "How can one expect to get any help when the last person in charge of the rayon committee propaganda section stayed on the job only one year, and was then let go because he just could not handle the job. But he was recommended by someone.... Let someone take responsibility for that, too."

V. Velsky, Head of the Dnyetrov Kolkhoz, said: "No one knows who, from the oblast committee, recommended Comrade Adamchuk. For almost 2 years they dragged this on, kept criticizing.... What responsibility was taken by the person who recommended him to head the collective farm?"

At the oblast party committee, while the comrades naturally condemned M. Drozd's action, one could feel that they were ready to treat this outside of the framework of restructuring; they were also willing to explain it as atypical and unusual. Drozd's manner of dealing with the situation can only produce disgust in any honorable person. Anything else, however, these people would consider a manifestation of the conflict between the new and the old, which is really at the core of the structuring process. Actually, this is a reaction to the process of democratization of society. According to the laws of social antagonisms, its antipode would be demagoguery. It can appear in any form, but its content will be the same: hypocrisy for the sake of achieving profit for oneself. A demagogue is defined in Vladimir Dal's dictionary as "a covert instigator."

Didn't M. Drozd behave in such a manner? Following the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, there were changes made in the leadership of the Khmelnytsky Raykom. After a long standstill, which caused a serious slowdown in the development of the rayon, changes began to appear, primarily in terms of personnel, even although these changes were not always successful.

Squeezed between the city blocks of the oblast center, the village rayon party committee and other institutions became noticeably detached from the soil and the people. What caught attention was the idea (not a new one) of moving the rayon center to the village of Chorny Ostriv. This idea created a certain agitation in the minds and hearts of some people within the leadership. Not everybody was ready to part with the comforts of city life. And, although the problem has not been completely

resolved, M. Drozd decided to play upon the emotions of people, to play on their personal interests, and then....

Under the letter that was published (by his cousin in a neighboring rayon), there were 15 signatures of managers and specialists. It isn't hard to understand their outrage at the perfidy.

In reference to the letter's content, if one disregards certain arrogant and even offensive phrases, threats, and tone which should not be allowed among party comrades, one finds some very important issues. Whatever the case, the aim and the means for achieving it should be in a state of complete moral harmony for all, and especially for party workers. But in the case of Drozd it was different: even before his authorship of the letter was uncovered he was asked about possible suspects who could have written such a letter, and he airily named some of his coworkers.

"In comparing what Drozd said openly and what he wrote behind people's backs, there is only one word that I can apply to him--hypocrisy," said Ya. Danylyuk, a party worker of long standing and current member of the party commission of the rayon committee.

V. Dykusharov, first secretary of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast Committee, in discussing the sad finale of M. Drozd's party activity, discussed methods for studying the opinions of grassroots communists when candidates are nominated for leading posts. A certain system emerges, one that was recently discussed by our newspaper in the commentary on the plenum of the oblast party committee.

People from the oblast committee are often recommended for leading party positions. However here, in contrast to large working collectives, the base for studying the ideas from 'the grassroots' is much smaller. It would appear that the voice of party organization apparatus should carry more weight. It is no secret that the period of stagnation has negatively affected some of the party committee personnel. A habitual command work-style, sometimes unethical behavior, an insufficient attention paid to the ideas of the elected aktiv--these and other undesirable phenomena have made thorough familiarity with a candidate's qualities an especially acute problem. Perhaps party committees should consider incorporating trial periods and appointing deputies, taking into account the specifications to the elected party position.

M. Drozd combined the position of rayon second secretary with another important one--head of the auditing commission. Because of that position, he was present at meetings of the oblast party committee bureau. Therefore, there was no lack of opportunity for Mykhaylo Pavrylovych to express his disagreements "in principle"; this only reasserts what, we suspect, was a calculated "shot" in the back.

All in all, it should probably be pointed out that the election of M. Drozd to chair the auditing commission was too hasty, just a few weeks after he assumed the position of second secretary of the rayon committee.

Just recently comrades on various levels talked a lot with M. Drozd. Their general opinion was that he was not completely candid, and therefore, how could he be repentant. Even in his letter of resignation, addressed to the buro of the rayon committee, he writes: "Please release me from my duties of buro member and second secretary, since I am taking another position."

One should give credit where it is deserved: the party oblast committee has actively and energetically organized the operation to uncover who the author of the anonymous letter was, and now is attempting to clear the air.

One comment by Mykhaylo Havrylovch still lingers: "After all, I haven't stolen anything...."

The answer to that depends on one's point of view. How about honor and conscience? All in all, Drozd has not only disgraced himself, but also the authority of the party worker.

P.S. When this text was ready for print we learned that a Plenum of the Khmelnytsky Raykom had taken place. The issue of punishment was dealt with there in a stricter manner than it was by the basic party organization and the raykom buro: M. Drozd was ousted from the CPSU (52 people on the committee were for the ouster, while 5 abstained. Obviously, he was released from his job as second secretary of the rayon committee, and was ousted from the buro. The oblast party organization auditing commission has released him from his duties as chairman.

12868/9190
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GRISHKYAVICHUS SPEAKS ON FODDER PRODUCTION AT LISSR PLENUM

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 May 87 pp 1-2

[Speech by P.P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, at the 7th Lithuanian CP Central Committee held 23 May 1987: "On the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Carrying Out the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on 'On Substantial Shortcomings in the Work of Party, Soviet, and Economic Organs of the Lithuanian SSR, and the Odessa and Samarkand Oblasts on Increasing the Production and Improving the Quality of Fodders'"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

Last week the CPSU Central Committee discussed the question "On Substantial Shortcomings in the Work of Party, Soviet, and Economic Organs of the Lithuanian SSR, as well as Odessa and Samarkand Oblasts on Increasing the Production and Improving the Quality of Fodders." While not denying what we have accomplished, the party's Central Committee made a strict and principled evaluation of what we have permitted to occur in this area.

The resolution noted that the republic's party committees, soviet, and economic organs have failed to achieve a radical turning-point in fodder production. Serious omissions have taken place in planning and carrying out specific measures to provide livestock raising with high-quality fodders of our own production. The proportion in them of concentrates coming from state resources has remained high. We have not overcome inertia in the activity of party organs and farm managers nor an uncritical attitude in evaluating the situation which has evolved, along with a lack of responsibility in solving the urgent problems of this sector.

Today we must critically and thoroughly analyze the status of our affairs and outline measures to implement the resolutions promulgated by the CPSU Central Committee.

Many of our staff personnel have become accustomed to merely trace the pluses or minuses in fodder production as compared with last year's figures. And the degree of genuinely satisfying the needs of livestock raising with our own fodders has frequently taken a back seat. During the past three years production of coarse and rich fodders has averaged 16-16.8 quintals per

conventional head of cattle. There has been a certain increase, and we have been pleased by this. But, of course, we all see that this is not enough. And if we take into account the quality and balance of fodders with respect to digestible protein, then we must self-critically admit that we are doing poor work in this main sector of ours.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee indicates that this republic's party, soviet, and economic organs have not penetrated deeply into the state of affairs in fodder production; they often have a complacent attitude toward those farm managers who have not adopted effective measures to increase the harvest yield of fodder crops, hayfields, and pastures; they carry out fodder production extensively rather than intensively.

In fact, major shortcomings lurk behind the relatively good total quantitative indicators. In the Zarasayskiy Rayon (party raykom first secretary, Comrade L. Galvyalene; rayispolkom chairman, Comrade S. Imbrasas), Shvenchenskiy Rayon (Comrades K. Yuralovich and N. Kuzmin), and Ignalinskiy Rayon (Comrades K. Kasnikauskas and G. Ektis) they are still obtaining only slightly more than 14 quintals of feed units per head of cattle, while on 61 of the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses this figure is less than 13 quintals.

The Central Committee Buro decided to invite to the plenum a group of farm managers, specifically those who have become complacent, neglected fodder production, and become spendthrifts of the state's resources, or every year they purchase silage, hay, and even straw from neighboring farms and rayons. I cannot refrain from citing a few such examples.

Comrade A. Persinyavichyus has been working as chairman of the Neris Kolkhoz in the Kayshyadorskiy Rayon. In 1984 this farm obtained 12.8 quintals of feed units of coarse and rich fodders per conventional head of cattle, while last year this figure was 12.7 quintals. During the winter of 1986 it had to purchase 450 metric tons of silage, and this year the figure rose to 550 metric tons, not to mention straw. Comrade P. Antanavichyus has headed up the Giluchyay Kolkhoz in this same rayon for 22 years now. In recent years this kolkhoz has reduced the production of these same fodders to 12 quintals of feed units and also has had to save itself by purchasing straw.

There are farms which have neglected fodder production even in such strong rayons as the Kaunasskiy, Kapsukskiy, Kedayskiy, Panevezhskiy, and others. On the Lapes Sovkhoz, Kaunasskiy Rayon, where Comrade G. Lyutkus has been the director for seven years, production of coarse and rich fodders decreased from 20 quintals of feed units per head of livestock in 1984 to 16 quintals last year. Although even these figures are doubtful because for the last five years the farm has been buying hundreds of metric tons of silage, hay, and straw every year. But, you know, this farm's lands are practically the best in the republic; they have been appraised at 50 points. The Azhuolas Kolkhoz in the Kedayskiy Rayon, which has been directed by A. Norkus for four years, has not risen above 12.6 quintals of feed units per head of livestock. Production of coarse and rich fodders on the Draugiste Kolkhoz in the Prenayskiy Rayon, where Comrade A. Loda has been chairman for eight years, has declined to 12 quintals of feed units per head of livestock.

On the Azhuolas Kolkhoz in the Yurbarkskiy Rayon the procurement of fodders per head of livestock has declined over the last three years from 18 to 8 quintals, on the Shaltuona Kolkhoz--from 15.6 to 12.5, and on the Raudone Kolkhoz--from 13.6 to 10.8 quintals of feed units. Understandably, they have all reduced their production of livestock output; and they have bought fodders from other farms and rayons in increasing quantities. There is no sense in citing the names of the farm managers who have permitted this to happen because they have all been replaced just recently. And, in general, the state of affairs in the Yurbarkskiy Rayon with regard to the production of fodders and livestock raising is evolving very unfavorably. This rayon's leading officials (Comrade I. Balsas, first secretary of the party raykom; Comrade A. Zayris, chairman of the rayispolkom) must draw the necessary conclusions from this without delay.

We could go on listing similar such instances. The most decisive measures must be taken to put an end to such an attitude toward this matter. A farm manager who fails to produce sufficient fodder should not be retained in this position. And those who do not make the necessary adjustments this year must be held strictly accountable, even to the point of expelling them from the party. There cannot nor will not be any condescension toward the leading rayon officials who tolerate such a state of affairs. In short, we need to tighten up our demands on all levels. And what we are talking about is not measures for partial improvement but rather a radical restructuring, changes in the approaches and conclusions, as well as the entire way of thinking on the part of our personnel.

We discussed the problems of further intensifying the production of fodders and livestock items at the Fifth Plenum of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee in November of last year. A fine decision was adopted, and a well-developed plan was approved, consisting of measures directed at implementing a previously worked-out, comprehensive program entitled "Fodder." But, as the results of the discussion held in the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee indicate, along with an analysis of the state of affairs in the localities and the facts cited above, everything has remained as it was before on many farms. As before, there is no genuine, creative concern for a better utilization of the existing possibilities on the part of this republic's Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] (Comrade V. Eynoris, first deputy chairman of the LSSR Gosagroprom) and on the part of the party raykoms, the rayon agroindustrial associations, managers, specialists, and party organizations on the farms. Many very important components of the "Fodder" program have remained on paper. We need to put an end to this.

The CPSU Central Committee subjected us to particularly sharp criticism for prolonged stagnation in the production of grain and for underestimating the intensive technologies of cultivating grain crops. It noted that the average annual harvest yield of grain crops has practically not increased at all and has not exceeded 24 quintals per hectare in the course of the last three five-year plans. Of course, we knew this and saw it; on more than one occasion we have had serious conversations about this at congresses of the Communist Party of Lithuania and plenums of its Central Committee. Unfortunately, a considerable portion of our personnel have not proceeded beyond the stage of conversations. We all remember that there were years when farms succeeded in

obtaining as much as 28-29 quintals of grain per hectare. But we have not managed to guarantee stable harvests. Temporary success among some farm managers and rayon officials brought about a feeling of smug complacency, along with an underestimation of the recommendations of science and the requirements of agro-engineering.

Inertia and sluggishness, as well as a pro forma approach, have also manifested themselves in the matter of introducing intensive technologies for cultivating grain crops. Last year grains cultivated by using intensive technology yielded an average of merely 29.3 quintals per hectare.

And how can they be called intensive technologies if even the elementary agro-engineering rules are looked at askance on certain farms? Monitoring controls have been neglected here by the republic's Gosagroprom and by the rayon agroindustrial associations. The kolkhoz and sovkhos party organizations have also overlooked matters. Let me cite just one example to illustrate precisely this point. Any agronomist and even a general-purpose machine operator knows that before going out into the field a seeder or a potato-planter must be adjusted and checked out for the sowing density; and specially prepared areas are needed for this purpose. It has now been revealed that there are no such areas on some of the farms; the machines are adjusted "by eye" and sow essentially blindly. And then complaints are made about the sparsity or uneven thickness of the sowings. And how many unsown gaps remain due to careless work by the sowers? As before, excessive amounts of weeds in the plantings remain a major scourge for the harvest. And this is because agro-engineering and agro-chemical measures are still not being combined vigorously enough in the struggle against weeds.

We must bring grain production up to 4 million metric tons a year. This is a complex and intense task, and its solution cannot be put off until the end of the five-year plan. Each year we must obtain the necessary increase. This year, no matter what happens, we must obtain the planned gross grain harvest of at least 3.4 million metric tons. Therefore, everything that is sown must be geared toward producing more grain. We must do everything to ensure that every field yields a fine grain harvest.

We must make every effort to increase the production of coarse and rich fodders, as well as to persistently improve their quality. At the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee it was said straight out that a high-capacity potential had been created for this purpose but that it is being underutilized, comparatively worse than in certain of the country's other republic's and oblasts. Each farm manager, every official of a rayon or the republic's Gosagroprom, all of us are obliged to draw the most serious conclusions for ourselves from this criticism.

Above all, we can no longer put up with a low productivity from the perennial fodder-producing lands, in particular, from crop-bearing meadows and pastures. The harvest yield of crop-bearing meadows amounts to only slightly more than 30 quintals of hay per hectare; it is not increasing, and in many areas it continues to decrease. During the last two years there has also been a decline in the productivity of crop-bearing pastures. We spoke about this sharply at the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee last autumn. But the

proper conclusions have not been drawn. At that time we criticized the leading officials of the Kapsukskiy, Moletskiy, Yurbarkskiy, Zarasayskiy, and Utenskiy rayons for their slow pace in sowing crop-bearing meadows and pastures. But this year too the pace of these operations has been slower than average for the republic. This is an intolerable attitude toward party decisions and toward an assigned task in general.

We are not usually in the habit of speaking solemnly about reclaimed lands; we have called them the gold fund of agriculture. And, at the same time, we have begun to reconcile ourselves to the fact that a very unseemly picture is emerging in the use of this fund. The productivity of drained lands amounts to only 30 quintals of feed units per hectare. Drainage systems are operating poorly on 270,000 hectares, while 44,000 hectares of drained lands cannot be used at all.

In connection with this, we are obliged to level a serious charge against our land-reclamation people. Chasing after "gross volume," after newer and newer thousands of hectares for drainage to the detriment of the work quality, insufficient attention to eliminating their own defects or to modernizing and repairing worn-out drainage and irrigation--these are the principal shortcomings to which we are compelled to draw the most serious attention of the leading officials of this republic's Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources (Comrade V. Normantas).

We must dwell specifically on the question of modernizing and repairing the reclamation systems. One gets the impression that these projects are low in prestige for reclamation officials. This is evidently because the material motivation of the reclamation people has not been made dependent on the end results--on the productivity of the reclaimed lands. Today the land-reclamation people are pleased by the fact that the plan within last year's five-year plan was over-fulfilled by a factor of almost 1.5, and last year's plan was also over-fulfilled by 11 percent. The following question suggests itself: What kind of plans are these if they are over-fulfilled, while hundreds of thousands of hectares remain unreclaimed, and these areas are not being substantially reduced? And who benefits by such plans? Of course, solely the reclamation people so that they can ensure a carefree life for themselves and, at the same time, join the leading workers.

The republic's Gosagroprom and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources must do everything to bring about a situation whereby all lands with poorly operating and non-operating reclamation systems are put into order and introduced completely into the sowing system.

We also need to persistently continue work on developing the seed culture of perennial and, above all, meadow and pasture grasses--particularly pink and white clovers. Within the shortest possible time we must see to it that the needs for them are fully provided, both for the newly laid-out meadows and pastures as well as for restoring the herbage of the existing ones.

Nor have we reached the necessary level in the seed culture of leguminous crops such as fodder lupine, peas, vetch, and fodder beans. It has been neglected primarily in such rayons as the Kayshyadorskiy, Rokishkskiy,

Moletskiy, Utenskiy, Vilnysskiy, Trakayskiy, and Shhalchininskiy. A number of experimental farms have not fulfilled their plans for selling the selected seeds of these crops to the state; this is particularly true of the Upitskaya and Perloyskaya Experimental Stations, the Vokeskiy Affiliate of the Agricultural Institute, the Kayshyadorskoye Experimental Farm of the Animal-Husbandry and Veterinary Institute, and the Educational-Testing Farm of the Lithuanian Agricultural Academy. The plans for growing and selling fodder-type root crops to the state have not been fulfilled. The republic's plant-breeders and variety-testers must work more actively on raising, testing, and selecting the proper regions for new, rapidly maturing and good-harvest varieties of leguminous crops.

An extremely important problem--one which the CPSU Central Committee strictly insisted must be solved--is the most rapid possible overcoming of the protein shortage in fodders. How long will we continue to import protein additives from the country's other republics? That is precisely the way the question was posed in the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. Many of our farm managers have become accustomed to such a practice and are not seeking out possible ways to solve this problem by means of local resources. But such possibilities do exist. First of all, we must improve our cultivation of leguminous crops. And we must further expand their sowing areas. But the main thing is to achieve an increase in the crop yield. At the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee we accepted the task of attaining within the shortest possible time period the growing of as much as 450,000 metric tons of leguminous grain. What we are talking about are leguminous plants in a pure form, not mixed with grains. Consequently, we have a great deal of work to do here also, and we cannot become complacent.

And further along the way we must improve the cultivation of clovers and make the transition everywhere to their use for one and one-half years. The proportion of clovers and other legumes within the area sown in perennial grasses must be brought up to at least 90 percent over the next two years. We also need to introduce alfalfa and fodder-type beans more extensively. Nothing can justify the fact that we have essentially ignored the experience gained by farms in the Pakruoyskiy Rayon with regard to cultivating fodder-type beans for grain as well as for silage in mixes with vetch, oats, or corn. We also need to restructure our work on cultivating corn. Who, if not Gosagroprom and RAPO [Rayon Agroindustrial Association] should concern themselves with these problems, with the universal utilization of all the possibilities for enhancing the feed merits of fodder reserves?

The CPSU Central Committee pointed out the conservative attitude of our economic personnel toward rape. On those farms where its cultivation has been taken seriously fine results have been achieved. Last year 24-27 quintals of winter rape seeds were obtained on the Kolkhoz imeni M. Melnikayte, Salchininskiy Rayon, and the Kolkhoz imeni Betigala, Raseynskiy Rayon. On the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Shakyayskiy Rayon, the Skaraytishke Sovkhoz, Raseyskiy Rayon, and the Rokishkis Poultry Sovkhoz there was a yield of 16-18 quintals of seeds per hectare of spring rape. Analogous results have been achieved by a whole series of other farms located in practically all zones of the republic. Fine crops of highly nutritious fodder have also been obtained by the farms named above, as well as others, by utilizing rape sowings on green

masses. Unfortunately, on many farms they continue to regard this crop with excessive caution, seeking out utterly unsubstantiated counter-arguments. To be sure, winter rape does not stand up well to the winter period here. But what is hindering the cultivation of spring rape?

In connection with the state of affairs which has evolved, we cannot help directing some serious criticism at Gosagroprom, its deputy chairmen, Comrades S. Vasilyauskas and B. Pauzhi, and its scientists. Why is it only now that they have begun talking about the agro-engineering and feed merits of rape? Why was this not done five years ago when rape began to be grown? Up to now Gosagroprom has not done anything substantial with regard to organizing the purchases and processing of oil-bearing seeds. Now, when the new economic mechanism has gone into operation, rape, in addition to all its other merits, is also becoming an important source of income. And it would be irrational not to take advantage of this.

In order to solve the protein problem, we are not making sufficient use of the possibilities of industry, especially in the production of high-protein additives of animal origin. Only about 30 percent of this extremely valuable material has been utilized with sufficient effectiveness up to now. Such a situation cannot be tolerated any longer.

We lack the capacities to produce meat and bone meal at meat-packing complexes. But even the existing ones are poorly utilized; there is a violation of the technology, and this leads to great protein losses. And nothing can justify the fact that such a state of affairs is permitted to happen, above all, at such new, up-to-date enterprises as the Alitusskiy and Utenskiy Meat-Packing Complexes. And how much have we lost due to the fact that up to now the necessary arrangements have not been made for utilizing animals which have perished? The experience of Belgorod Oblast has not yet found the necessary response in the republic. Construction of the Retavskiy Utilization Plant has already been going on for more than nine years due to the fault of the former Ministry of Agriculture (Comrade M. Grigalyunas) and the Ministry of Construction (Comrade B. Sheshplaukas); its being put into operation has been postponed four times. An analogous situation also exists in the case of building inter-farm utilization shops in the Anikshchyayskiy, Birzhyayskiy, and Utenskiy rayons. All these projects must go on line this year and thereby solve the problem of processing all the perished animals. Nor is the situation any better with regard to processing the secondary material of the dairy industry into protein-rich fodder. Can we really reconcile ourselves to the fact that up to now only 40 percent of the skim milk and slightly more than 20 percent of the whey are used for this purpose? The need of livestock raising for whole-milk substitutes is being satisfied by only one-third. However, commercial-grade milk amounts to only 88 percent, and with regard to this indicator, we lag behind the neighboring republics.

To be sure, in the approved measures for developing the material and technical base of the processing industry, the APK [Agroindustrial Complex] capacities for producing dried skim milk and whole milk substitutes are slated to be doubled during this five-year plan. But their construction is also proceeding badly. Gosplan and Gosagroprom (Comrades B. Zaykauskas and G. Konoplev) have already been subjected to criticism for this at the Fifth Plenum of the

Central Committee. However, the necessary conclusions have not been drawn from this criticism. Tasks with regard to introducing capacities for producing dried milk products as well as feeds and storage elevators are still being constantly disrupted. We warn the comrades responsible for this matter that if they allow this to occur, they will not succeed in evading responsibility.

Poor use is also being made of the existing capacities for producing dried skim milk. At the pig-raising complexes at the Byarzhay Enterprise in the Ionavskiy Rayon and on the Shirvinka Kolkhoz, Shirvintskiy Rayon, the workshops producing it are usually operating only at half-capacity, and during certain months they are completely idle. This is a case of mismanagement, for which the officials of Gosagroprom and RAPO must bear the responsibility.

In solving the problems of strengthening the fodder base, an extremely important role has been assigned to the mixed-feed industry. Its contribution to this cause is undoubtedly great but is still insufficient. We can no longer tolerate the trend toward lowering the quality of the mixed feeds being turned out. More than a third of the mixed feeds and all the protein-vitamin additives are being processed by the enterprises under the Ministry of Bakery Products with deviations from the standards with regard to protein contents. Of course, not everything here depends upon the sector's leading officials. But today we must direct the attention of Comrade R. Dabkyavichyus to the shortcomings which the ministry is to blame for allowing. Why, for example, is it not even planned to add liquid lysine to the mixed feeds, although this has long been done in the neighboring republics, as well as adding condensed skim milk? It is utterly intolerable to squander vitamin-rich herbal meal. Of course, it cannot be concealed in any way that during the summer period almost 2.5 times more herbal meal is added to the mixed feed for cattle than during the winter. But, you know, logically speaking, it should be just the other way around.

An unjustifiably passive stance on these questions has been taken by the deputy chairmen of Gosagroprom, Comrades V. Stankyavichyus and S. Vasilyauskas, as well as the leading officials of the Scientific-Research Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Institute.

We are now confronted with the fully grown problem of the commercial expenditure of concentrated feeds and the reduction of their proportion in the rations provided for livestock. On the kolkhozes of the Molotskiy, Trakayskiy, and Varenskiy rayons concentrates with the total composition of fodders used for producing beef amount to 34-39 percent, whereas this figure for the republic as a whole is 28 percent. On the farms of the Kedaynskiy, Ignalinskiy, and Shalchininskiy rayons the proportion of concentrates in the rations fed to pigs reaches as much as 84 percent.

Above all, during the next few years we must see to it that all domestically produced forage-type grain is reprocessed into full-value mixed feeds. For this purpose, in addition to further developing the mixed-feed industry, we must accelerate the construction of mixed-feed enterprises on an inter-farm basis. Here we should specify a supplementary program.

With this same goal in mind, we must bring about a major increase in the effectiveness of the summer pastures, as well as coarse and rich fodders for the period when the livestock is kept indoors. We have already spoken about measures to improve the qualities of pasture-type fodders. It remains only to add that during the next few years we must reduce the feeding of the milk-producing herd on inferior pasture-type fodder to a minimum.

We still have a great deal to do in order to improve the structure and quality of coarse and rich fodders. There can be no doubt that we will have to continue employing all measures to increase the procurement of hay and to improve its quality. We need to utilize all possibilities for this purpose. We cannot tolerate and ought to accord a strict evaluation of instances whereby, due to mismanagement or negligence on the part of certain farm managers and specialists, the first cut of hay is stored as silage even in fine weather.

But it is not enough merely to procure good hay; it must also be preserved. The CPSU Central Committee has pointed out to us some substantial shortcomings in this matter. For, you know, more than one-tenth of the hay procured in our republic is stored outdoors. What can one say about preserving the quality of such hay under our conditions? There are farms in virtually every rayon which to this very day store certain amounts of hay in outdoor stacks. But there is a particularly large number of them in the Pakruoyskiy Rayon. Last year 16 farms stored--or, to put it more precisely, ruined--hay by such a method; 15 percent of all the hay reserves for this rayon's public herd were kept outdoors. And the Didviris, Linkaychyay, and imeni Kapsukas kolkhozes in the Ionoshkskiy Rayon, as well as others, stored 45-55 percent of their hay in such outdoor stacks.

It must be emphasized that the problem of providing fodder-storage facilities is now among those of top priority for us. Because, you know, there are still not enough storage facilities for 20 percent of the hay and silage being procured, 63 percent of the fodder-type root crops, and 76 percent of the potatoes remaining on the farms. Besides the already-mentioned Ionishkskiy and Pakruoyskiy rayons, the most backward in this regard are the Ignalinskiy, Nirzhayskiy, Shakyayskiy, Shalchininskiy, and Shilutskiy rayons. And unless additional measures are adopted now, the situation will become worse and worse with each passing year. The republic's Gosplan, Gosagroprom, rayispolkoms, and RAPO must review the possibilities and provide such measures on each farm. It is obvious that sponsoring organizations must also be involved in constructing storage facilities.

Unfortunately, even those storage facilities which have already been built are being poorly utilized. For example, to this day more than half of the hay-silage towers continue to be empty. And the principal reason for this is that the specialists of the Neris Lithuanian Production Association under the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production are utterly incapable of putting the unloading mechanisms of these towers into working order. How long can this state of affairs continue?

There are also many unsolved problems in the matter of utilizing fodder reserve supplies. Although last year the outlays of fodders to produce units

of livestock-raising output declined somewhat, they are still high in many rayons and farms, as well as for the republic as a whole. On the kolkhozes of the Alitusskiy and Shalchininskiy rayons last year 13-14 quintals of feed units were expended per quintal of added weight to the cattle. On the kolkhozes of the Raseyaskiy and Mazheykskiy rayons 8.5-9 quintals of feed units were expended for every quintal of weight increase to pigs. And what is happening on specific farms? On the Kirsna Kolkhoz, Lazdiyskiy Rayon, the expenditure of fodders per quintal of weight increase to pigs exceeded 13 quintals of feed units.

These facts attest to the intolerable lack of monitoring controls and to mismanagement, to neglect regarding feed rations, poor preparation of fodders for feeding, and the lack of elementary order on the livestock facilities of many farms. There can be no justification for a manager who spends funds to build a fodder facility and then fails to use it. It simply makes no sense. Unfortunately, however, this has become a mass phenomenon. During the six months of the present winter period in the Birzhayskiy Rayon merely 180 metric tons of mixed feed were prepared per fodder workshop of the KORK [expansion unknown] type; in the Pakruoyskiy Rayon this figure was 378, in the Pasvalski Rayon--437, while in the Kapsukskiy, Kaunasskiy, and Radvilishkiy rayons it ranged from 5,500 to 7,500 metric tons. We cannot continue to manage things this way.

Acting as a brake on increasing effectiveness in utilizing fodders is the ossification and backwardness of the system of maintaining and feeding livestock, especially on dairy farms. On many of them, as was the case before, there is a failure to keep adequate track of the level of the cows' productivity. The "shop system" of maintaining them is being introduced too slowly, and the method of forming separate herds of highly productive cows is being ignored.

The shortcomings which we are talking about today inevitably have an effect on the end results--the economic indicators of fodder production. On many farms the production costs of fodders have remained intolerably high. Last year the production cost of a quintal of grain for the republic as an average amounted to 12.5 rubles, whereas in the Tauragskiy and Shilalskiy rayons it was 15.5-16.0 rubles; for corn silage throughout the republic this figure was 1.7 rubles, while in the Akmyanskiy, Yurbarkskiy, and Mazheykskiy rayons it was 2.3-2.4 rubles; fodder-type root crops throughout the republic averaged 4.4 rubles, while in the Kretingskiy and Shilalskiy rayons it was 5.8-6.0 rubles. And such a picture was true for all types of fodders. The production cost of some of them, for example, hay silage, even increased and amounted to 3.2 rubles per quintal for the republic as a whole.

We must dwell separately on herbal meal. In the first place, its quality cannot stand up to any criticism at all. Last year only 17 percent of the herbal meal was of first-class quality, while there was no first-class herbal meal whatsoever on the farms of the Pasvalski, Shalchininskiy, Shvenchenskiy, and Zarasayskiy rayons. We are burning up fuel, which is in short supply and, at the same time, extremely valuable fodders. Moreover, the production cost of a quintal of herbal meal for the republic as a whole

amounted to 16 rubles last year, whereas in the Zarasayskiy and Tauragskiy rayons this figure was 25-40 rubles.

In connection with this, it should come as no surprise that in the rayons listed above the production cost of livestock-raising items is also high, or that 137 of the republic's farms suffered losses from pig production, along with 37 from beef production, and 9 from milk production.

The principal reason for such a situation lies in the fact that most of our farms have not yet worked out an anti-expenditure mechanism based on the principles of cost accounting and the collective contract. And, therefore, let me remind you again that Gosagroprom, the rural party raykoms, and RAPO must immediately eliminate formalism and achieve effective cost accounting and collective contracts on each kolkhoz and sovkhos, as well as in all collectives of the APK [Agroindustrial Complex]. Furthermore, particular attention must be directed at limiting outlays and wages in accordance with end results. We must proceed more boldly to deduct payments from gross farm revenues.

Manifestations of passivity, sluggishness, and conservatism among our scientists are becoming painfully obvious. We have not sensed on the part of the Agricultural Institute (Comrade A. Budvitis, director) the necessary activism and motivation regarding the question of introducing intensive technologies for cultivating grain crops or searching out and introducing new, protein-rich fodder crops with good future prospects. Problems of the optimal utilization of fodder supplies, breeding work, and the struggle against diseases among the livestock must be solved more actively by staff members at the Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Institute (Comrade A. Kayris). It is very important for the scientists with their research developments to emerge from the scientific laboratories, beyond the boundaries of the experimental farms, and to participate more actively in the business of introducing these developments into production. Merely recommendations of a current nature by scientists are far from sufficient nowadays. They ought to lead farmers forward and point out to them the optimal ways for solving future problems. And, in this connection, they should rely not only on their own store of scientific knowledge but also travel the wide road of everything progressive which is available in other republics as well as abroad.

The mass information media must adopt an active, aggressive stance regarding matters of solving the problems of strengthening the fodder base and intensifying livestock raising. They must not only skilfully propagandize advanced experience but also persistently strive to achieve its introduction and uncompromisingly scourge shortcomings. It is extremely important for journalists to cooperate more closely with the specialists of Gosagroprom and RAPO as well as with scientists. Editors of the newspapers TIES and VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS have quite good experience in such cooperation. Their example should be followed by SOVETSKAYA LITVA, CHERVONY SHTANDAR, and the local press.

For the major shortcomings in fodder production, as revealed by the CPSU Central Committee, the responsibility must be borne by this republic's Communist Party Central Committee Buro and Council of Ministers, primarily by

those Buro members entrusted with the direct management of the agroindustrial complex (Comrades V. Astrauskas and Yu. Bernatavichus). The Central Committee Buro and the Council of Ministers must tighten up their demands on party, soviet, and economic personnel, steadily and consistently strive to eliminate the existing shortcomings, and unconditionally carry out all the outlined measures.

The principal intent of the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the immediate work of implementing it boil down to radically improving all fodder production and raising it to a qualitatively new level fully corresponding to the requirements of intensive animal husbandry and to the tasks of the Food Program. This means that we are confronted with the task of becoming fully self-sufficient in all types of fodders within the next few years.

All of us understand what a complex task this is. But what is important for us today is to make sure that all our personnel profoundly understand that we have no other way. Proceeding from such a manner of posing the question, the CPSU Central Committee has demanded that we strengthen our organizational work, decisively raise our standards required of party, soviet, and economic organs, as well as the primary party organizations, farm managers and specialists, Gosagroprom and RAPO, and of all our staff personnel.

What kind of organizational work must we carry out now without delay?

First of all, we need to review and refine the "Fodder" Program and the fodder-production plans for this year with regard to every farm and rayon. We must proceed on the basis of calculating a procurement for the republic of 20-21 quintals of feed units with a high protein content per conventional head of livestock within the very near future. In this connection, we direct the attention of the party gorkoms and raykoms, Gosagroprom, and RAPO to the fact that formalism must not be tolerated and that the entire matter must not be buried under papers. We must provide a meticulous but realistic account of all the reserves and possibilities which exist on every farm. We must involve in this cause the best forces among the specialists of Gosagroprom, RAPO, and the APK scientific institutions so that they may render aid directly on the farms.

Furthermore, before the end of this month the problems of fodder production in accordance with the demands made by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and by today's Plenum of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee must be discussed at open party meetings of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and other enterprises of the APK. Members of party gorkoms and raykoms, along with other rayon activists, must become involved in their preparation. Members and candidate members of the Central Committee, as well as members of the Auditing Commission of Lithuania's Communist Party, must participate in these meetings. The latter must also discuss the revised "Fodder" Programs and the fodder-production programs for this year; they also need to provide for the organizational-technical measures to carry them out.

Rural party gorkoms and raykoms must sum up the results of the discussion and establish permanent, tight monitoring controls on the execution of the measures outlined.

Now for some remarks about certain current tasks. We must neither delay nor prolong the time periods for the first haying operations. We have to adjust to the weather situation and do everything to obtain the most and best quality of hay. This is our chief task.

In order to procure fodders, we need to set up cost-accounting units wherever possible. We need to provide universal support for the call made by the staff members of the Ionishskiy Rayon's APK to inaugurate a competition for a successful conduct of the haying operation, for increasing fodder production, and improving its quality. It is particularly important to solve in a well-thought-out way the problems of providing material and moral incentives for the procurement people. Their wages everywhere should be linked directly to the end results of fodder production and, above all, to fodder quality. Of course, all able-bodied rural inhabitants, along with the people and equipment of sponsoring enterprises and organizations must be involved in the fodder-harvesting operations from the very first days.

And speaking again about the production and purchase of livestock items, we must note that matters with regard to milk yields have taken an alarming turn. For the first time in a year and a half the daily yields have begun to decline, as compared with those of last year. We must adopt all measures to prevent such a trend from continuing. Each farm must analyze the situation very carefully, make the necessary specific adjustments, and immediately take all measures to correct the state of affairs, and make up the deficiency.

The sale of livestock and poultry to the state has been proceeding unevenly by rayons. Thirteen rayons have reduced such sales in comparison with last year. But what concerns us most of all is the fact that weight added to cattle and pigs during the fattening up period has not only failed to increase but in some cases has even declined. In the Vilkavishskiy, Anikshchyayskiy, and Raseyayskiy rayons the daily weight increments of cattle this year have been less than 500 grams, while those for pigs have been less than 400 grams. Farms in the Birzhayskiy, Yurbarskiy, Klaypedskiy, and Prenayskiy rayons have begun to sell calves with a live weight of 350-400 kilograms. It is not difficult to figure out why this is being done: they want to cover up gaps in their production organization by fulfilling the plan at any price. But, of course, in chasing after short-term successes, they are undercutting the foundations of further developing production and increasing its profitability. It is high time that people understood this and abandoned their old methods of management.

And, finally, a few words about people's private, subsidiary farms. Purchases of livestock from the population continue to decline. But this cannot be justified by the conditions which have evolved, nor can we fail to take action. If it has become more difficult, then we must redouble our efforts rather than just let everything drift. There are specialists on the farms, and in some places even deputy managers, who are responsible for the

production and purchase of items from the population. The ispolkoms of the Appeals soviets must be actively included in the organization of this matter. We must intensify our work with the population and render more aid in operating such private, subsidiary farms. At the same time we must utilize all possibilities to develop the fattening-up of cattle and pigs on the basis of family contracts.

Discussion of the republic's accounting report in the CPSU Central Committee and the adopted resolution comprise extremely important milestones for our further work on intensifying the production of fodders and livestock-raising items. We must and will do everything for the purpose of unconditionally implementing the high requirements of the CPSU Central Committee.

2384

CSO: 1800/645

YOUTH-ORIENTED GEORGIAN-LANGUAGE SCIENCE JOURNAL NEEDED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 25, 19 June 1987 carries on page 12 under the title "What Will We Reap If We Never Sow?" Aleksandre Rondeli's and Soso Tsiskarishvili's 700-word article urgently advocating the foundation of a monthly popular science journal in the Georgian language, one designed to acquaint youngsters with the wonders of science and kindle their desire to pursue scientific studies and perhaps a career in science. At present there is no such journal; the education monthly SKOLA DA TSKHOVREBA's quarterly supplements and even the scientific monthly METSNIEREBA DA TEKNIKA, not being oriented toward young readers, do not fill the bill. As a result, thousands of talented Georgian youngsters in the republic's towns and villages have practically no chance to be exposed to the world of science in this way.

To be sure, Georgians who know Russian well have fair access to a nice array of youth-oriented popular science journals in that language—including TEKNIKA MOLODEZHI, ZNANIYE--SILA, VOKRUG SVETA, YUNYY NATURALIST, and several others. But scientific interests and skills need to be inculcated at an early age, before youngsters have to grapple with a second language. And, by and large, these nice Russian journals are not to be found in many children's libraries.

The lack of a Georgian popular science journal for youngsters is bound to have an effect on Georgia's future economic potential, inasmuch as all sectors of the economy depend increasingly on a strong scientific base manned by qualified cadres.

It is no good to reply, as some have, that "other republics are in the same fix as Georgia" in this regard. It is time for academic, Komsomol, and other institutions and organizations to get behind the effort to found such a journal and find well-qualified, dedicated young scientists to serve as editors.

6854

CSO: 1813/419

REVISION OF GEORGIAN PARTY HISTORY URGED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 11 June 1987 carries on pages 2-3 under the title "Some Theoretical Problems of Socialism at the Present Stage" Leo[nide] Gorgiladze's 3,000-word essay examining numerous aspects of socialism in light of "the Party's new Marxist-Leninist thinking" since the April 1985 Plenum and subsequent landmark assemblies and decisions. The author summarizes various erroneous dogmas, subjectivism, and simplistic and authoritarian theories and practices of the country's previous leadership, the grave mistakes of the past and the stagnation of recent years, and the like. In the present context of "renewal, acceleration, and restructuring" he points out the flawed thinking of the recent past, in particular the late 1970s and early 1980s, with respect to the nature of "developed socialism," the notion that "improvements could be made without changing anything," and certain entrenched ideas regarding socialist property, class and inter-ethnic relations, labor and consumption, and other manifestations of the leadership's "scholastic theorizing."

In all the above, the social sciences and related theoretical disciplines provided little if any sound guidance--the phrase "at the level of the 1930s-1940s" is repeated more than once. Now all that is changed. The new Marxist-Leninist thinking, having also revised Soviet views on the nature of world conflict, now pursues the aim of "humanizing" international relations. To be sure, the ideological struggle has not abated, and the revised theory "does not reject the laws of the class struggle; but now the duel between capitalism and socialism is to be conducted on the basis of competition and peaceful rivalry."

In the context of renovation of the social sciences, it is essential to "see history as it really is." In doing so, it would be wrong to forget or discount "those who believed, labored, and built socialism." The new histories that are written "must be meaningful, written in popular style, be honest and interesting."

With respect to this latter, the author urges that two works in particular be "rethought and republished," namely "Studies in Georgian History" and "Studies in the History of the Georgian Communist Party," present editions of which are "at the level of the 1930s-1940s" and need to be "cleansed of dogmatism and subjectivism."

RESTORATION OF ORIGINAL GEORGIAN PLACE NAMES URGED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 26, 26 June 1987 carries on page 12 historian Levan Sanikidze's 2,300-word article, titled "Let Us Not Diminish Our Mother Tongue and Mother History," urgently advocating the restoration of the original historic names to numerous towns and localities in Georgia, toponyms which were unjustifiably replaced with the names of Georgian and Russian revolutionaries and celebrities some 50 to 60 years ago. The author links that unfortunate renaming to the various "campaigns" waged against Georgian material culture (monuments) and the Georgian language itself in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s--in effect, campaigns against what the great Ilia Chavchavadze declared to be the "divine triad" of Georgia's inheritance: language, land, and religion.

Thus, for example, virtually sacred place names on the Georgian land--Martvili, Senaki, Ozurgeti, Bagdadi, Khoni, and Kharagauli--were officially replaced "by one stroke of the pen" with surnames of the revolutionary personages Gegechkori, Tskhakaia, Makharadze, Mayakovski, Tsulukidze, and Ordzhonikidze, respectively; similarly, the ancient name of Salominao [in Vani Rayon] became Kirov. The author hastens to add that he has nothing against those illustrious personages themselves, or their names, for "fate decreed that they were to be our leaders in modern times."

Additional proof that the new names should never have replaced the old ones, Sanikidze states, is seen in the fact that in actual practice, in the actual living speech and sensibilities of the people living in those places, the original names are in constant use and the new ones are not; the new ones are merely in "official" use, on paper and nowhere else.

The question is, How long does this dichotomy have to last, "the dead versus the living name, the natural versus the imposed?" "It is time to restore to history that which is its own." That such a measure need not give rise to any difficulties can be seen in the celebrated case of the reinstatement of the original name of Tskhinvali [the capital of Ossetia] to what had long been known officially as [Stalinir].

Author Sanikidze then turns to the question of numerous place names in Georgia that were originally imposed by Turkish invaders in centuries past. Ironically, it was the Armenian writer Hakop Mikaelyan, of Tsalka Rayon, who first advocated in print (in LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO, 1971) the restoration of the original Georgian toponyms, pointing out that the Georgians' neighbors in fraternal Armenia had already long since done so in their own land. Aside from [prominent and sometimes controversial writer] Akaki Bakradze, no one ever responded to that challenge. In this context, the author urges that immediate steps be taken in this, Ilia Chavchavadze's jubilee year, to restore Georgian place names in southern Georgia [where many of the names are Turkish] under the supervision of a special commission.

Finally, Sanikidze points out how ridiculous it is that Tbilisi's second main thoroughfare, after Rustaveli Prospekt, should bear the name of Plekhanov--the Russian who in terms of politics and world view was most akin to Georgia's own [Menshevik leader Noe] Zhordania, and he urges that it be given the proud name of King David the Rebuilder [1089-1125].

6854

CSO: 1813/420

AZERBAIJAN'S GEORGIANS RECEIVING MORE CULTURAL HELP

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 4 June 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "There Are Seven of Them" Tsisana Akhvlediani's 400-word article about the continuing cultural help being given to Azerbaijan's Ingilos (ethnic Georgians) in the Kakhi district by organizations in Tbilisi. The article focuses mainly on successful efforts in the past few months to revive the Ingilos'--especially young people's--knowledge of Georgian folk music and set up theater and dance circles. This has been accomplished with the help of their friends in Tbilisi, who have gone to Kakhi to give advice and provide sheet music and records, and the like.

Not long ago an Ingilo Shvidkatsa [a folk-singing group consisting of seven members] performed in Tbilisi's Republic Scientific-Methodology Center for Folk Arts and Education and "evoked tears of joy" in their audience. Music, theater, and choreography specialists will maintain regular contacts with their colleagues in the Kakhi House of Culture. The author of the article emphasizes that the Ingilos' cultural progress could not have been accomplished without the active support of local Azerbaijani authorities.

The same newspaper on 9 June, page 3, carries under the title "Starting the Path to the Future" Maria Topalashvili's 200-word item reporting a performance in Tbilisi by an Ingilo children's theatrical group called "Melodies of Azerbaijan." The group is from the western Azerbaijan village of Alibeglo, where it is very popular. Members of the Tbilisi audience wept with unrestrained emotion on hearing the youngsters recite the familiar lines, "I love my poor land/ More than any Eden somewhere else."

TRANSPLANTED ADJARIANS COMPLAIN OF NO LEISURE FACILITIES

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 9 June 1987 carries on page 2 under the title "Brigade Raises Problem" a 300-word item attributed only to "our own information," concerning progress and problems in Samtatskaro [a village and grape sovkhos in eastern Georgia's Tsiteltskaro Rayon settled almost entirely by Adjarians], where over 50 percent of the workforce consists of young people. At a meeting to discuss the results of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress and the 33rd Georgian Komsomol Congress, the complaint was raised that after long hours of daily toil, the hardworking young workers have nowhere to spend their

leisure. A village club has supposedly been under construction "for 5 years now...and yet the walls are not even up." On the plus side, Samtatskaro's workers have undertaken on their own to create a small park [skver] honoring "those who did not return from the war."

RECOGNITION OF GEORGIA'S MINGRELIAN FOLK LITERATURE URGED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian on 12 June 1987 carries on page 6 under the title "Original or Translated?" Paust Nadaraia's 900-word article, in which he examines some of the verses in a recent collection by Nodar Dzhaldagonia, titled "Airs of Old Colchis," compares them with internlinear translations of published Mingrelian folk poetry, and concludes that the poet is unjustifiably passing them off as his own originals rather than acknowledging their sources (though to be sure the poet states in his preface that "some lines in these verses coincide with lines in folk poetry").

The author of this article cautions that "no one has the right to appropriate Mingrelian folk poetry, which forms an integral part of Georgian poetry," though of course "we are grateful to Dzhaldagonia for rendering these verses into Georgian." The word "plagiarism" is not mentioned.

The article concludes with a plea to collect and publish more of the rich storehouse of Mingrelian folk poetry.

EMIGRE GEORGIAN WRITER REHABILITATED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 23, 5 June 1987 carries on page 13 under the recently instituted rubric "Names Returned" and the title "The Return of 'Lamara'" Vasil Kiknadze's 900-word article hailing the acknowledgement, at long last, of emigre writer Grigol Robakidze's seminal importance to modern Georgian literature. The main context of the piece is Robakidze's play "Lamara," which opened new directions in Georgian dramaturgy during the turbulent and experimental period of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Even though Stalin himself lavished praise upon the play when it was performed in Moscow in 1930, it remained controversial. Moreover, after 1932 [the year he went into exile] Robakidze was rarely or never acknowledged as the author of the play; theater posters and playbills might, for example, vaguely ascribe the work to [rustic poet] Vazha-Pshavela, on some of whose themes it was indeed based but never to Robakidze. And all those years until now, the article's author asks rhetorically, "From whom were we hiding the truth? Everybody knew."

But a new era has dawned, and now truths can be published which 10 years ago might only be whispered. All this is "thanks to the Party" and the current "openness, democratism, and new thinking." Kiknadze expresses gratitude to LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO and its editors for inaugurating the rubric "Names Returned" as well as for that "great nation, Russia," for boldly setting the

example. If Russian can reclaim her forgotten names, let us recall the poet's words: "Georgia, thou canst not afford to lose a single son."

On 12 June, issue No 24 of the same newspaper carries on page 10 a 900-word piece by Zurab Kiknadze who, through his own commentary and excerpted reminiscences by one of Robakidze's contemporaries, extolls Robakidze as the man who virtually revitalized Georgians' sense of self in the early years of this century, when their self-esteem, appreciation of their own language, and hope for the nation were "on the brink of extinction." During that period, intellectuals despaired as public speakers lectured only in Russian, feeling awkward and uncomfortable in Georgian. Robakidze turned that situation around, and others followed suit.

LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO No 25, 19 June, carries on pages 5-6 Sergi Chilaia's 3,200-word study of another Robakidze piece, "Londa," which was highly experimental. Examination of the play serves as a context within which to lavish praise on Robakidze as an inimitable master of the timeless mysteries and unique beauties of Georgian creative language and to extoll further his great contribution to Georgian literature.

Finally, LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO No 26, 26 June devotes all of page 14 to personal and open letters Robakidze wrote to fellow writers in the 1910s and 1920s, as well as his article "Georgian Renaissance" that was published in the periodical SAKARTVELO in 1917.

BASQUE LANGUAGE TO BE TAUGHT IN GEORGIAN SCHOOLS

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 27 June 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "A Second Diploma: Teacher of Basque" D. Zedginidze's 400-word article reporting that from now on, graduates of Tbilisi's Ilia Chavchavadze State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages will get a "second diploma" along with the diploma in their basic major, namely "Social Profession of Teacher of Basque." The knowledge they have gained from the relevant courses will enable them to teach secondary school pupils the rudiments of Basque language and culture, form study circles for those who are interested, and thus promote Basque studies in Georgia.

Tbilisi is "second only after Bilbao" in the world with regard to training teachers of Basque for secondary schools. Basque studies and research in Georgia got a big boost about 10 years ago when Academician Shota Dzidziguri and Soviet Bascologist Y[uriy] Zytsar' established in Tbilisi State University what has now become a kind of "Tbilisi school of Bascology."

The sphere widened even more a few years ago when, with the support of Chavchavadze Institute Rector E. Magradze and the initiative of Social Professions Faculty Dean R. Sarishvili, a regular Basque course was instituted there. So far, seven students have completed the whole course, and there are many more who are interested. Sarishvili ventures to hope that the study of Basque in Georgian schools will have the same kind of success that the study of certain Oriental languages has had.

6854

CSO: 1813/421

AYTMATOV SPEAKS OUT FRANKLY IN OGONEK INTERVIEW

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 26, Jul 87 pp 4-9

[Interview with Chingiz Aytmatov by OGONEK special correspondent Feliks Medvedev: "The Price of Insight": date not specified; first three paragraphs are introductory remarks; passages between slantlines are comments by the interviewer]

[Text] Moscow--Frunze--Cholpon-Kul--It was almost midnight when the telephone rang. "I am ready to talk"; the words were uttered slowly. "Come over if you like."

I rushed across Moscow in a cab to the writer whose name is known to the whole world and about whom I had been feverishly thinking about what to talk about with him. What? What? It seemed to me that our readers already know everything about Chingiz Aytmatov: the number of words written about him runs to more than the words he himself has produced. Studies have been conducted on each of his works--"Dzhamaliya," "The White Steamship," "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years," "The Executioner's Block"--and many books have been written about his artistic destiny and his fate. Each of his creative periods has been studied and dissected. He has given innumerable interviews even though he has repeatedly renounced this "extravagance"... What can he tell the reader about himself and his work that is new?

"But the measure of life," I thought, "is inexhaustible. Even if Chingiz Aytmatov met with journalists yesterday, today is another day and with it come new a new frontier of existence, new concerns, new doubts. The more so since today, when every hour we have lived through is set in a special way against the curtain of history, when each day can be as an epoch. And millions of people listen to the voice of this respected writer and value and trust him.

And Chingiz Torekulovich immediately went straight to the heart of it, to the most painful and vital thing...

[Answer] Finally we begin to see clearly; we have rubbed our eyes and looked behind us and have seen a yawning emptiness. It is frightful to think that with us it was as if everything went on as before, when ritualistic twaddle substituted for substance. Until recently many ideas about life were being expressed with the aid of cliché and interjection that set one's teeth on

edge, talking about the world's leading society, the very educated reader, the unalterable vanguard quintessence of everything that touched upon the concept of "our--Soviet." In this cloying self-bewitchment we eclipsed the sense of the real and the specific and we tried not to notice that the world around us had overtaken us by many laps. And the goal was no longer tangible: "the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism"... Profanation, monstrous voluntarism... Our goal--communism--has become even more distant. It is not enough that many of the postulates of socialism have been distorted.

[Question] Tell me why in "The Executioner's Block" you decided to deal with a subject that until recently was forbidden in the press--drug addiction--and along with this the problem of the spiritual bankruptcy of the individual? Did you sense the approach some kind of major changes in society?

[Answer] Yes, it was perhaps an inner presentiment. But in this case, drug addiction is only a minor point. Let us discuss the bigger issues. In recent years I have always considered that we are living through some kind of dull period of history and that we are just beginning to find some insight. We have indeed been distorting so much... You will agree that this is also insight. Slowly but surely we are casting off the trammels of complacency and self-delusion and arrogance. But we can still see the deliberate asseverations that we have still not managed to leave behind.

[Question] Chingiz Torekulovich, in a conversation in January 1984 I for some reason recalled your words to the effect that (quoting you) "modern history is starting only now, and only now is it becoming abundantly clear how much our society has matured and to what extent it can be master of the gains that it has made... And we must win, and it will be an unprecedented victory." It seemed to me at that time that there was some implication in those words. I repeat: this was January 1984, not April 1985 and not 1986.

[Answer] You know, I have always felt, as many do, the monstrous lack, and sometimes absence, of democracy. And today also we are still not prepared for the proper perception of it. Democracy is an extremely crucial matter that has been cultivated in the generations. And not because it is possible to write and say everything about it; it is more the inner approach: democracy in action is primarily a very complex process of tolerance of and respect one for another, for the one stratum of society for another; in many things it is the incredibly difficult and largely dramatic process of shaping a new view on the fate of society.

Since this democracy that we have always needed has existed more on paper, I think that it is precisely now that the true meaning of socialism is becoming more palpable. I think that in general the highest goal of everything on earth is being embodied precisely through democracy. Any system can call itself whatever it likes, but if it does not provide a base for real emancipation of the spirit nothing will come of it. The concept of happiness can be personal, separate, individual, but there is also such a concept as societal happiness. And so the happiness of socialism can be only when total and clear democracy exists, permeating all spheres of life and human existence.

[Question] It seems that such a time has existed in our history--after the 20th CPSU Congress. Literary critics think that it was precisely those years that became decisive in your creativity, for it was from 1956 to 1963 that you wrote "Tales of the Mountains and Steppes," which, incidentally, won a Lenin Prize.

[Answer] Yes, during those years I was grateful to the fates that I was living and working in that period. It was exactly then that a pleiad of writers took shape who are still the main leading force in contemporary literature. It is a fine thing that they were young then. This has enabled them to retain within themselves their dignity and hope over the long years.

Today, happily, the curtain has again been drawn aside, and whereas those times were a vague sense of hope, today is a time to recognize the inevitability of the changes that are taking place. And everywhere in the professions of literature and the arts I am expecting truly volcanic explosions. I think that since Valentin Rasputin, who is now 50, and in the generations that followed him--after him there has been a sense of moral bankruptcy in literature. In both the Russian and the non-Russian literature something has been suspended, slowed down... The potential opportunities of the formula "and the word was god" have disappeared.

Now, I think, it is a favorable time for major discoveries. And if tomorrow some major novelist or poet emerges to amaze us, this will be a natural thing. There is room for everyone. We shall welcome it as a long-awaited phenomenon.

[Question] I see that this is not an easy or painless process. For the affirmation of democracy the concept of "tomorrow" is evidently a long-winded process. And not all writers have a clear understanding of or sympathetically accept what is going on "outside." It was not fortuitous that in one of his recent speeches Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made use of the now commonplace concept of "squaring the accounts," which has to do with things far removed from true art.

[Answer] This is an appropriate regret and insight, for to use relationships within literature to square some personal or group accounts is a barren path known for a long time, a path that can in no way lead to any productive achievements. Fussing, supercilious people who thirst after personal popularity and glory fill us with disgust, the more so if they are writers. They poison their own lives and the lives of those around them. It was remarked long ago that hatred makes a person morally bankrupt. There is food for thought here. I know young people who are wasted with hatred and envy of others. I also know people who have lived in the world for many years but have been unable to gain wisdom with age, who want everything and take revenge for their chronic sterility on everyone and everything, like children in a kindergarten. It is high time that we understood that our life is really short, and the longer that you live in the world the more deeply you should accept this life as a superhappiness and not as a pretext for a belated self-affirmation at any price. Devastating himself with hatred and envy and malice makes a man a slave of the night, not a creator of light.

[Question] Is it true that your father Torekul Aytmatov and his brothers, the rural activists Ryskulbek and Alemkul, were repressed in 1937? I only just learned of this.

[Answer] Yes, it is true. That was exactly half a century ago and it is still painful to remember it. I have never referred to it publicly; this is really the first time I have talked about it. I would not like this fact to be interpreted wrongly by other people. But even if this thing had not happened at all I would just the same oppose the "warder" of the personality cult. Many people still do not understand the enormous harm that he did to Soviet society. The personality cult inflicted irreparable and disfiguring harm on the lineament of socialism. For too long we have been in the trap of the authoritative regime created by Stalin, and only now after almost 35 years after he died have we begun to free ourselves and constrain the slaves of the personality cult to speak. It is only today that society has really started to deal with the heavy burden of that somber era. And the price we are paying for this is high. For today, too, there are still many who hanker after the past. They want to see nothing, they want no changes. And so, if we succeed once and for all in freeing ourselves from the complexes of the past this will be a great achievement in the restructuring, both political and spiritual.

/I listened to my interlocutor and I understood how the processes taking place within the country are worrying him. He perceives all the concerns of the restructuring as a son, close to his heart. I sensed that he has suffered much, thought much, been shaped. A man of state proportions, a Hero of Socialist Labor, deputy in the highest legislative body in the land, he spoke with understanding of specific matters and thought about what needs to be changed in our life for the better. He talked about isolated facts and he generalized and analyzed much and drew conclusions--with inspiration and with passion. I did not interrupt him or stop him with my own questions; and it seemed to me that his conversation with his interviewer became impassioned./

A Monologue on the Burning Issues of the Times

[Answer] I think all the time about a paradox: while creating socialism and giving preference to everything that comes from the collective and from collectivism, we have lost a great deal of what concerns the individual, the personality, the selfhood of the individual, if I may put it that way. We must proceed from the premise that if self exists, then everything else is the world. And how this major loss is seen today! On much, in much. On the quality of labor. In the relationships between one person and another. On the assessment of his creative and constructive potential.

We have not adjusted or defined the value of the individual himself. And we ignore these problems, rid ourselves of them as if we fail to notice them. And they have been building up, coming to a head; they have affected the individual's attitude toward the state, the attitude of the state toward the individual, the attitude of the individual to the collective. Taken all together this demands the solution that we now call "restructuring." Restructuring is a broad concept. To some it seems that restructuring affects purely organizational matters and the rearrangement of personnel; others think that it affects only technological and technocratic problems. To me, however,

the most important thing is the societal and social aspects of the individual's interpersonal relations, and the individual and society. The personality, the individual and the state. I am not a scholar or a sociologist and I approach these problems, as it were, empirically. And it seems to me that competent discussion should take place. There are enough dogmatists who presented the formulas beforehand. There were many of them, dogmatists and formulas, holding back any advance, and we must get away from leveling and depersonalization and set standards. General standardization in the name of the collective is deadly.

We are people, and our entire life, no matter what we do for a living, is built up from our everyday existence and the daily round of concerns. Part of society produces, part consumes, and in between them is the services sphere. Everything is socialized. Formerly a man could get by in a subsistence economy, and he relied mainly on himself. On his own labor, his own property, his own land. Now everything is different: the state takes care of everything.

On the one hand this approach is a manifestation of the principles of socialism; on the other hand, it disappoints me that we have been unable really to organize many spheres of our existence. Take housing.

Whereas formerly the individual himself took care of his housing and tried to maintain it and improve it, and therefore looked after every nail in it, now everyone is just waiting for a finished, comfortable apartment. And this is understandable: funding is allocated for this, the construction sectors exist for it. On the one hand this situation of things makes life easier; on the other, we have been unable to act so as to make housing our own, cosy, an inseparable part of us. Look at what happens in the subways and elevators and on the stairway landings! What have we turned our homes into? Into multistorey barracks? We live, as it were, taking revenge on ourselves. And why, we ask, do we revenge ourselves? why not hit on the state, which has assumed this unheard-of obligation? What the hell, if the philistine proverb is not really true: do no good, get no evil. We have not learned to live in large apartment buildings, and we have not learned to look after our own place. Moreover, miscalculations and absurdities were permitted in the original plan, not enough thought was given to the plan, and during the course of construction many elements of the plan were ignored. And then everything is just anyhow, just to be rid of the thing as quickly as possible.

The new housing developments we see in Moscow are the flowers, the best of our modern construction. But travel out to a provincial city, the cities in the oblasts. Just look out of the window of the railroad car and you can see and be astonished by the ugliness on the cornfields on which our housing is built. And our homes are our lives. And while we refuse to talk about it, reluctant to reproach each other, as it were, everything will stay as it is, nothing will change. Nothing will happen, nothing will change. I am afraid that the rising generation does not even suspect that a person is ever placed in a situation of having to concern himself about where to live. It seems to young people that everything just exists, all finished and ready. Just give me the keys!...

Another problem is transport. A problem that year after year becomes more depressing. Let me start with the transport that takes people the farthest--aircraft. I have had occasion and do have occasion to visit other countries and make use of airplanes from all sorts of airline companies, and I am well aware of what a good airline is. And so: I see no progress in our air service. Today it is the meager, congested, nervous transport of people in very disorganized conditions. Domodedovo airport in the summertime, for example, looks like a picture of a disordered evacuation of refugees from a natural calamity or a war. Like our railroad stations, our airports have become a cheerless, crowded, chaotic assemblage of passengers. Where are the signs of an advanced civilization? And here, personally I think that Aeroflot will itself never put anything right. A competing firm should be set up. Perhaps Aeroflot should be split into two parts, and each part provided with its own assets and its own specific opportunities and thus be forced to compete and make things so that the wages of all aircrews and all personnel depend on the quality of their work.

What depresses me even more is that the aircraft inventory is growing old before our very eyes, with little being renewed. Many examples can be cited. The Asian routes from Frunze to Moscow and from Alma-Ata to Moscow. For many years almost no additional flights have been added. Aircraft are being replaced very slowly. But the flow of passengers is growing rapidly.

The aircraft inventory is just decaying. Even their outward appearance. I make the judgment as a passenger. Flies and cockroaches have bred in the airliners as they have in communal housing. Once I offered an invitation to the stewardess: "Why don't you deal with the cockroaches, they're crawling round in circles here!" She said: "What do you want from us. We can't disinfect the aircraft because they are always flying. They change the crews and they change the passengers but the aircraft are the same ones." Then I began to harbor a suspicion: under these conditions, can they really observe the necessary technical requirements? It still seems to me that the aircraft are overloaded, more densely packed than anywhere in the world. I do not see this ruthless crowding in other airline companies.

And when we talk about the main thing in capitalist production--profits and the pursuit of profits--I cannot honestly see any difference in this case: they are in pursuit of profit and we are in pursuit of the plan, that is, profit, no matter what you call it.

Until recently, however, Aeroflot was some kind of elite organization that it was just impossible to criticize under pain of death. And your heart often aches about this because we have all been involved in flying. Modern man cannot manage with flying. It has become part of our flesh and blood, our very existence, part of our everyday plans. It is only through flying that we can maintain the fast tempo of modern life. And it is precisely in that vitally important element that we feel increasing slack.

And now, urban transport. Its condition is beneath any criticism. Everything is overloaded: the metro, the buses, the trolley buses, the trams. And not only in Moscow, but everywhere. The flow of passengers is growing but the

facilities stay the same. The stresses of transport affect people's work capacity, their moods and their interpersonal relations.

The West also has these problems, but there a gigantic inventory of private transport comes to the rescue. There is no comparison with our own.

And our highways? In the cities, between cities, roads in settlements and rural areas throughout the country. If we compare them with the roads that exist in other parts of the world, then they are not roads at all. There is no end of work here.

And day after day we accustom ourselves to it all, reconcile ourselves to it, are irritated but are used to it, tolerate it, reconcile ourselves to the inevitable. But why?

School education is in a largely deplorable condition, medical services are wretched, trade is at a Stone Age level...

I am not grumbling. I am discussing it, I want something better. What is the solution? Many people think that labor must be better organized and that we must work better. I understand; this is very important. But I think that this is not the main concern. The main thing is the following: where to find the means to deal with it, to make a new start on the standard of living? For the state budget is not elastic. Increase wages in the services sphere? That is impossible. Raise prices for products and services. That may be possible. But then we must raise wages. A vicious circle from which one way or another we must find a way out. For like any one of us, a generation is not immortal. And a man should live in conditions worthy of a man.

Thank god, as they say, there is no war. But then why year after year do so many vital state and social problems remain unsolved? Perhaps we do not think about them much. And if we do, we talk about those that do not always produce results. Why? A dogmatist sits inside each one of us; each one of us has to some extent been "shell-shocked" by the Stalinist era--weaned away from thinking and the ability to act without sanction from above.

Many of my colleagues are trying to find the answers in some kind of scholastic, politicized discussions. It is simpler to state that socialism has potential advantages so why make them more complicated in fact. And how should this be done? Not everyone has an answer to this. How fine it would be to get rid of the inertia of demagogy and conservatism that has been sown in the heads of our scholars, theoreticians, practical people, sociologists and economists...

I think that restructuring should resolve many of the problems I have mentioned. In any event, I want to believe that it will help in resolving them.

/Chingiz Aytmatov talked about our not inconsiderable economic difficulties. Although each of us does have a subsistence minimum, a roof over his head and work, and people live without the fear of unemployment and unexpected social upheavals, this is not what it is all about. It is a question, the writer

reckoned, that, being possessed of an advanced social system, gigantic tracts of territory, unlimited resources, and leading achievements in science and technology, we should be at the head of all civilization.

We talked about the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, the most important event of recent times./

[Answer] The CPSU Central Committee plenum should do much to change our ideas about the future of the economy and our entire life, my interlocutor reasoned. This was a revolutionary plenum. Both in the report and in the speeches the restructuring that has overtaken the snail, the cart that stood for so many years on the path of transformations and slowed down movement won through.

Chingiz Torekulovich thought for a moment.

If you like, I will say one thing: I understand intellectually that we have still not attained a level of production high enough to make the allocations set aside for military expenditures have no impact on the living standards of Soviet people... Intellectually, but my heart says... For today we are all asking a single banal question: how could it happen that a young amateur pilot, a mere lad, despite everything, managed to deal with all the barriers of our defensive system and calmly land in the holy of holies of our motherland—Red Square—as if he were landing on an uninhabited island? Those to blame have been removed, that is understandable. But still...

I think that much could be resolved if we found a way to solve foreign policy problems. If the world could come to an agreement, if the endless arms race could become something senseless. We have been talking to each other for a long time: we must not disturb each other, hector each other, challenge each other to duels--the world is standing on the brink of nuclear apocalypse. And what is the use of these mutual rebuffs and warnings? Of course, if you look back you can see the mistakes permitted through the shortsightedness of our foreign policy even quite recently.

We would like our peace initiatives, which are prompted by the entire logic of life, to find a response in the other side.

Recently during a visit by G. Shultz the U.S. Secretary of State to Moscow it happened that I had the opportunity to meet him along with some other writers. He was very interested in the status of glasnost in the USSR. The issue was a very exciting one for him because the previous stereotype of dealings with us had already, as it were, been broken and worn out with use. Shultz asked us many things about glasnost and restructuring, and about whether we believe the prospects that have been opened up. And we talked about everything and answered his questions and, it seemed to me, also convinced him that at some time we shall succeed in convincing people that the very best culmination to the 20th century would be that East and West find a common language and finish once and for all with the possibility of resolving ideological differences through military means.

And if even for a minute, even for a second a figure of the caliber of Shultz wavered and considered the truth of our ideas about the future of peace in the

world, this means that we must use everything possible to bring about an agreement not to wage war on each other.

/Here I should note that the venue of my conversation with Chingiz Aytmatov that had started in Moscow was switched first to an aircraft, then Frunze, and then to the shores of Lake Issyk-Kul, 300 kilometers from the Kirghiz capital, in the village of Cholpon-Kul -- the abode of the writer's "labors and inspiration." And it was not for a holiday stroll that our guide made this journey and invited us along with OGONEK photo correspondent Dmitriy Baltermanets.

Much is already known about the creative activity of Ch. Aytmatov. He was the sponsor and organizer of the so-called "Issyk-Kul Forum," whose first meetings were reported at length in our journal. It was here to the shores of Issyk-Kul in October 1986 that very eminent figures in world culture gathered: scholars, politicians, writers, artists. They came to the USSR as Aytmatov's personal guests. When they returned to Moscow they met with M.S. Gorbachev.

This was how yet another new movement of intellectuals in the struggle for peace, mankind's survival and the continuation of civilization was formed. Before the formation of Chingiz Aytmatov's "Issyk-Kul Forum" and since, many people have traveled about the world, organizing and forming their own initiatives.

On this occasion the general secretary of the Great Britain-USSR Association, David Roberts, and the West's most popular writer, John Le Carre (his novels are also well known here), had come to the USSR to make personal contact with this writer and fighter for peace who is known throughout the world. Ch. Aytmatov met them in Moscow and traveled with them to Kirghiziya.

I had an opportunity to feel for myself the meaning and importance of Aytmatov's initiative. It was graphically confirmed that the personal participation of the writer in informal contacts at the most different levels as it were expands the idea of the role of the individual in the modern world.

And I told Chingiz Torekulovich that while we have recently amplified the role of the individual we have been close to denying his role in history. But now, today, we understand that we can build our life in all its manifestations, from economics to culture, only by relying on the energy, initiative and talent of outstanding personalities and talented people./

[Answer] Such as, for example, Dr Svyatoslav Fedorov, who, incidentally is a member of the OGONEK editorial board. Much is now being written about him and they use his affairs as an example of organization; but I realized that this is a man out of the common even when no one was talking about him, when he was showing everyone how to work, how production should be organized under socialism and how any business must be perceived as a strictly personal concern. Especially in the refined and complicated business of medicine.

When we talk about restructuring we must also talk about talented people and organizers and enthusiasts. But even here we have in our time neglected one powerful factor, namely, personal interest. I am convinced that until we

create an atmosphere of personal interest everywhere, many of our fine ideas will remain unrealized. Yes, personal interest is essential, that interest that we unjustly tore away immediately after the revolution, placing everything on a collective basis and a collective psychology. Wherever there is good personal interest a person becomes a creator, a master. But we more often put the blame on each other: why should I do so-and-so and such-and-such, let someone else. The chain reaction of regress and stagnation starts.

[Question] Many people think that the restructuring has only had a mild effect in the provinces, in territories remote from the center. In Kirghiziya, for example, do you see the fruits of restructuring?

[Answer] Of course. People think in a different way and their demands are quite different. There is not the sense of impunity and indifference that existed even quite recently. There is not the thought that individual groups of people can enjoy undeserved rewards.

[Question] Can you name for me some simple, so to speak, person who might have appeared recently during the process of restructuring, as a leader, as a true restructurer of life?

[Answer] I can. The shepherd Tashtanbek Akmatov. There are, of course, many workers like him. But this man is surprising. He is a shepherd thinker, a shepherd manager. He has thought about everything, anticipated everything. He marches toward his goal fully armed with knowledge and experience. He is an unquestioned model of farm leadership.

[Question] The word "glasnost" comes from the root "glas" or "golos" meaning voice. So today those who have this voice should be out front: writers, men of letters, journalists. That is, all those who are able to use this voice, speak out and get into print.

[Answer] Yes, of course. In literature glasnost is as necessary as air. But by glasnost I understand not only the voice. I have my own interpretation of this. Glasnost is a component of freedom. A second component is consideration of and results from glasnost, that is, the opinions and wishes of the majority. This is the foundation of freedom. And without the factor of freedom it is impossible in the present-day world to develop, improve and reach the pinnacles of productivity. Of course, journalism and news writing is the very initial reaction to what is happening, the very first attempt to influence reality. Books, major literature have their own functions, but they have certain possibilities and news writing and journalism have others that are quite different. And sometimes, at certain moments, it is precisely news writing that can mean more than belles lettres. I think that the present time is just such a period. Newspapers have become so popular that people stand in line for them early in the morning. With this kind of social hullabaloo the responsibility of journalism grows many times over. By responsibility we usually mean legal, party and professional responsibility. That is, responsibility means limitation and interdiction. I understand responsibility in another way: responsibility for forming one's own opinion, for shaping people's opinions.

Progress always takes place through certain obstacles. It is not possible to move toward progress by bearing grudges and imposing bans or silence or taboos. It is better to face the difficulties on the road, live through them, deal with them, but advance further in understanding society.

I think that if our news writing and journalism reject the ploy of passing things over in silence and find within themselves the strength to depict the individual and his times in a fresh, new, clear, pure and fair manner this will help us to find ourselves in the restructuring.

[Question] Be honest, Chingiz Torekulovich; before the age of glasnost did you consider yourself "open"?

[Answer] More or less...

[Question] Why?

[Answer] It has always seemed to me that I basically approach what I depict in an honest way. And now it happens that in the novels "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years" and "The Executioner's Block" I have been able to introduce new scenes, the kind that I used to have to either not write or remove them from my works because of censorship or because they were banned. Yes, today I could renew some things, make them sharper, strengthen them... But I shall not do this. What is done is done.

But again: today, for writers, and for me in particular, this is a remarkable time to write and to say what needs to be said. And we need this. To write without having to look over one's shoulder.

[Question] Do you think that too many critical articles and generalizations have appeared in our press or is this the standard of the times? Is there not some kind of distortion here?

[Answer] I see no distortion. Society should also possess a sense of irony about itself, a sense of self-criticism. Until recently we could not even make a little joke about ourselves; that was regarded as blasphemy. There was no self-criticism and we were becoming more and more complacent for we wanted and demanded more and more eulogy and complacent respect for ourselves. Although I understand that in a sense the main thing is not words but deeds. You do not go far on declarations, although we have tried. Before we found out that labor productivity, which has fallen almost to critical levels over the past decade, is now having a catastrophic effect on our economy.

This is why we must speak out boldly and decisively about all the negative phenomena of life. The best thing is to tell the truth...

[Question] Can you imagine the process of democratization in society being halted and everything being turned back?

[Answer] What, personality cult again? Occult diseases hidden within society? Violations of elementary human rights? Stagnation? Never! It cannot happen. The logic of life is such that the guarantee of development in

life is advance. If we stop this means that we start to move backward. Is this not so?

[Question] Yes, stopping will immobilize everything.

[Answer] And this will be a catastrophe for everyone. I think that in our society we do not have the forces that would be seriously interested in stopping it and returning to the past. Even the bureaucracy itself, which today we curse up hill and down dale, as they say, and regard as the root of all evil, has no interest in that. I think that the bureaucracy itself is not the enemy...

[Question] And what do you think the limits of democracy may be?

[Answer] The limits of democracy? Freedom and discipline. How paradoxical that sounds, but I cannot imagine freedom without discipline, nor discipline without freedom. They need each other to the same extent that they are different concepts. Freedom is as dangerous as it is beautiful. When it is perverted. When there is no freedom it is essential; when it is there it is perverted. I think that this is something thankless for whoever or whatever gives or gains this freedom.

[Question] But is there not some kind of "debauch of democracy" in the existence and operations of the "Pamyat" organization that in terms of its origin and plans is, as it were, an organization that is useful and necessary but has recently become a tool of chauvinism and anti-Semitism?

[Answer] If it is a debauch then it is no longer democracy.

I think think that we have still not learned to enjoy the fruits of democracy. For example, we have introduced a competitive form for the election of candidates to leading posts and positions. Naturally, one candidate is elected and just as naturally the other one loses. My point is that the second candidate who lost the competition immediately becomes somehow inferior and despised. Why is this? At one moment he can be the head of a collective and then suddenly he is cast away into a corner and his authority falls to a minimum. Is this fair? The candidates who fail to cross the line first are worthy people and must be regarded as cadres in the restructuring. They should be given some function, not regarded with indifference, as some kind of stupid Ivans who cannot even remember who their relations are.

[Question] You said that you had a presentiment of some kinds of changes in society even before you sat down to write "The Executioner's Block." And what kind of presentiment do you have now; and is it associated with one of your new works? What is this, if it is not a secret?

[Answer] It is still difficult for me to delineate this presentiment, but it is there. Perhaps it is that we have just the same lived through the experience that we are undergoing now. It is a great experience of self. It is an experience of the future. I understand at what price it will be won. It is not easy to abandon a prevalent and unlicensed self-delusion and falsehood, not to turn one's eyes away from the truth. Whereas a sense of

impartial criticism and condemnation of shortcomings is almost always associated with stress and difficulties. And we have for so long removed ourselves from self-experience.

If I do write anything now (and I have already started a new novel) it will be connected with this presentiment of mine. With the price of experience...

[Question] Until quite recently the many other zones and spheres in which discussion was banned included the question of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalny] relations between the peoples of our country. We were afraid to speak aloud about something that seemed to us to be not good. And now at a recent plenum of the USSR Union of Writers many speakers devoted their frank statements to the national question. They spoke with alarm, for example, about the fact that the numbers of schools and educational establishments in the republics where teaching is done in the native languages are declining. They also talked the so-called provincial nationalism.

What do you think of all this, Chingiz Torekulovich?

[Answer] Yes, for us as a multinational country this issue is of the utmost importance, and one that does not brook uncertainty and delay. Let me start with the fact that we have recently somehow stopped writing and talking about the real, and not imaginary, achievements of socialism and the advantages of the socialist system. And I do not agree with this. The advantages of socialism have been demonstrated to the entire world. One must agree with this. And among these achievements I include first and foremost the equal opportunities available to our nations in economic and cultural development.

And here, under socialism, the very concept of "person" has been enhanced and has grown, and achieved the status of a generally recognized social criterion. Over the years of Soviet power we have, on the one hand, rid ourselves of the ruling class, and on the other, we have also rid ourselves of servility. The individual has had a perception of his rights and his importance in the world. And this pleases me and I take pride in it; and we should be proud that for 70 years we have worked tirelessly to enable all the peoples in this enormous multinational state, without exception to enjoy a sense of their own worth.

When I go abroad I sometimes cannot, unfortunately, boast about some particular kind of technical articles, that is, material products, but I always say with pride that we Soviet people have learned how to live in a humane way.

Of course, we often use the word "internationalism" in vain. We should cherish the innermost and sacred meaning of this term. We may construct new factories and achieve new successes in production, we may achieve much in the material sphere, but once the inner unity of our peoples is disturbed it is very difficult to restore it. This is why each of the peoples and nationalities living in the Soviet Union must be concerned with having a solicitous attitude toward and an understanding of the friendship of the people and the brotherhood of the peoples.

In recent years there has been a certain unevenness in the national question. And in my opinion this has been connected with the fact that the present-day international process is to a significant degree taking place against the background of a growing national self-awareness among the peoples. The process is, as it were, a double one. It would appear that these concepts should, as it were, negate each other. But under the conditions of socialism, with the growth in national self-awareness there is a law-governed pattern of a strengthening of the international dealings between the peoples. And this is a process that we must continue.

In general the so-called national problems are largely, I think, a mirror image of our narrow world. You and I visited one of the special schools in Frunze to attend a meeting between English writers and the schoolchildren. We saw the angelically pure faces of the children, eager to learn something new from new people, in particular about England, and what trust and beauty shone in their eyes; and I was afraid that this was happening by chance: I was afraid that if not those seeds but some other seeds had been sown in the souls of the children, some kind of distorted truth, what a tragedy that would be. And I thought: how much effort must be made not to confuse the rising generation with the very thorny national problems on both the international plane and domestically. It is very easy to lead them into error, very easy to snap the slender threads of social intercourse between peoples of different nationalities.

The problem of international education is a very complex one because we have made it into cliches and transformed it into some kind of stereotypes at the level of invocations and slogans. We load young children, who thirst for all knowledge from adults, with a phraseological baggage without revealing the quintessence and the significance of the concept of "internationalism" using specific examples and situations that touch upon them and their families personally, and on their environment and their cities and region and republic. What our sorry teachers are doing has no substance for the children and they cannot understand it. Reports, salutes, slogans, grand-sounding phrases instead of living, graphic examples.

Now, literature. Literature cannot exist outside the national context. Any word comes from some kind of national source. Yes, one person knows several languages while another knows only his own native tongue; many people know two languages. And even before us, people lived in the world in some kind of interrelationship, and peoples and countries and regions influenced one another and mutually enriched one another. But on this plane, our times and our country are in a special position. We have become, as it were, a test ground for a great experiment, and we have been successful in this. I think that this experiment is one of our society's main achievements against the background of what is happening in the world. Wherever you look, everywhere there are unresolved problems that have reached impasse: terrorism, murder, the taking of hostages, animosity, hatred. In the Near East, in Africa, in Europe. And the reason for all this is language and racial prejudice.

Thank god this cup has passed us by. For we have created the world's largest multinational structure. China? you ask, India? Yes, but the people who live

there are close culturally and ethnically and in terms of the economic levels of the peoples. What has happened here is a unification of the most diverse linguistic cultures and peoples living in the most diverse stages of development; and a universally acceptable common denominator had to be found for all these living elements. Now what is happening here is an "equalizing" of the potentials of the different peoples and nations. It would, however, be naive to think, as we did in earlier decades, that no problems remain. And harmful, too. Each people is evolving and developing and its national self-awareness is constantly growing. This is what I say: we should not fear this. What we should fear is unnecessary and damaging interpretations of this growth, invented suspicions, and the not-disinterested attempts by some people to aggravate the situation with regard to material things in their desire to curry favor.

Naturally, one of the main aspects of internationalism is language policy. Whereas previously we talked about this with reservations, now we must candidly state that for a whole series of regions, including first and foremost Turkmenistan, in the long term there must be bilingualism as the most fruitful path of development. All the nations living in the Turkestan region are closely interrelated, and here the role of the Russian language has made itself felt. Economically and spiritually our lives are so closely interwoven that we cannot restrict ourselves to the existence of only one national language, either within the boundaries of a region or within the boundaries of a national republic. This is inadvisable and ineffective. On the other hand, if we assume that we abandon the national languages and take only one language, in this case Russian, this will also be a defective and one-sided solution to the question.

In this sense history itself prompts one fine way that has to some extent already been tested -- bilingualism. In my opinion, the full-stature coexistence of the language of the indigenous nation parallel with Russian should be guaranteed under the constitution in all regions. What does full stature mean? It means that the local language, acting along with Russian, should have all necessary conditions for its practice and development. This implies not only an infrastructure in the form of the press, radio and television and the information media. This goes without saying. But what is much more important is to look to the root where language is formed? At what age? Kindergartens and schools should be organized where the national languages are learned as the main language, and the Russian language should also be taught from childhood. On the one hand, bilingualism guarantees that the national language will be retained and developed, while on the other it insures a knowledge of Russian. This process is quite feasible both for children and for educators. Bilingualism should be regarded as a new historical phenomenon, as a cultural achievement of the late 20th century. The culture of bilingualism will offer new opportunities in the spiritual development of our peoples. It will be like the two wings of a bird... Just as a bird has two wings, each person in the national republics will have two languages--his own mother tongue and another that is common to the entire country, namely, Russian.

But, I repeat, it is a complex issue. Many people who think dogmatically are reluctant to accept this and understand it. Neither at the local level nor in

Moscow. Unfortunately there are even often forces among the people themselves that reject it. They are engaged in slandering themselves. I call this national nihilism. It is a phenomenon that is as reactionary as nationalism itself. And since national nihilism is not mentioned in the press it is not discussed and no one hears any censure of it, while some think that they can safely play the game with impunity. Some of these "players" create about themselves a halo of being "superinternationalists" and they do this for mercenary purposes.

The normal, rational resolution of the question lies in a combination of languages and in resolutions and, I would say, protocols of internationalism. Like a protocol exists in diplomatic relations, where everything is said beforehand, as it should be. And this is how the protocol of internationalism should be envisaged in legislative form--in official circulars, in the methodology for training and education, in the practice of equality, equal worth and the equal importance of existing languages in public life. This protocol should observe equality in everything, large and small. In inscriptions and slogans, in public statements. For today we observe this nowhere. In some republics you will not find Russian signs, in others you travel about and there is no trace of national signs or symbols. It may seem like a trifling matter but it is from these that a misshapen mosaic is formed.

I think that all the problems and complexities of national relations should be approached in a quite normal and patient manner, with no need to see a manifestation of nationalism in everything large or small. For many people fear precisely this bugaboo of people being feared, accused, persecuted. Many leading workers at the local level are afraid to speak in their mother tongue because they fear accusations of nationalism. But the essential thing is not the language that a person speaks but his thoughts and ideas...

Everyone understands that this is exactly how it is. But to this day we still feel the Thirties, the Stalinist years, in our gut, and so everyone tries to look out for himself...

[Question] I have heard the expression "the national plank." They say that in each republic there are writers who cannot get past the national plank. And readers perceive these writers as prophets in their own country. Neither the writer nor the readers want to look at things more broadly. For them their own affairs are more important. Perhaps not great, but at least their own...

[Answer] This is an artificial arrangement of criteria. There are such people and, I am sure, there are always young forces that step across these artificial thresholds.

[Question] Chingiz Torekulovich, why have you started to write in two languages?

[Answer] What prompted me? Several things. At first to write in Russian was simply an unconscious instinct of self-preservation. Because the level of criticism and its criteria at the local level suffers from a narrowness and aggressiveness and in this environment it is sometimes difficult for the

author. The labels are immediately stuck on him, unfair criticism is heard, and the studied criticism starts. In the literary environment in Moscow the approach is more expansive, the view more enlightened. But if one of the major leaders at some meeting takes a serious view of a story by some young author about the unhappy fate of a dog in the countryside and interprets it as a story about the fate of a Soviet person and demands some punishment, well, need I say more... And I started with the Moscow editorial offices. My first impulse was to establish myself at the center.

[Question] But it seems to me that a Kirghiz writer should understand your work more deeply because everything you talk about is some close and familiar to him.

[Answer] If you take the regular reader, decent and virtuous, he is exactly the same as a Russian reader. He also likes to read things written in a penetrating and artistic manner. And I am aware of this. And I trust the reader, Kirghiz or Russian. But there is still that environment about literature that tries to offer an adverse assessment immediately, and often with a political stamp. By publishing things in Moscow I avoided this kind of assessment.

[Question] Chingiz Torekulovich, does it not seem to you that in their time some of your works were written to meet the needs of the day and have not stood the test of time?

[Answer] I can perhaps admit that my news writing and speeches and interviews were created to meet the needs of the day. Well, as they say, what is, is. But as far as I have been able I realized that even news writing should be done in way that it, as it were, retains its heat for a long time. I have tried to think "for the longer term"...

[Question] And how long can an artistic work endure?

[Answer] Well that is a very complicated question. And I think that hardly anyone can give an accurate answer and predict which work will survive for a long time, and which will quickly die. Each specific work has its own destiny, just as each writer has his own destiny. At the same time there are general laws in literature and the arts and culture. There are the laws of any specific historical formation. A fundamentally new attempt to evaluate literature has been made in our Soviet era. All of this has created and tested the method that we call socialist realism. I have nothing against this term essentially. It is possible to talk about socialist realism, critical realism, magic realism; call it what you like. What is important is that an artistic work be full-fledged. But how this happens in any particular novel or poem or drama and what its future destiny will be is something that no one can foretell.

I do not share the smart statements and triumphal rejoicing to the effect that with the method of socialist realism we have opened up a new epoch, a new era in art, that all our literature and culture is supposedly unique and unusual. This is not so. Yes, we have engaged in a very profound and serious attempt to alter the essence and purpose of art. I think that there are certain

stages when art can also be used for specific strata, specific classes or a specific cultural stratum. These are the novels that portray morals and manners, a novel that describes events that are known to people; and the readers are, as it were, witnesses of and participants in particular historical facts or episodes. But art can also be elevated to something else, something, it seems to me, that is at a higher level, when it acquires universal meaning. And this is a new horizon. And then it deals not only with everyday details, not only with what is happening in reality, but also with the myth, the legend, with some major philosophical generalization or major historical image that not only relates what is depicted to the realities in some small region or specific environment but attempts to disseminate it to the entire human quiddity. Perhaps our literature is only now making the attempt to move to this stage. I do not dismiss all of our past art when I say this. We have interesting, major achievements. But at the same time I must honestly and candidly say that we have spent much of our effort perhaps for nothing. Although even this is not quite right. What has been happening in our literature has been a great experiment. And not every experiment can culminate in absolute success. There have been successes and there have been miscalculations. And these miscalculations are now part of our experience.

It is difficult to measure off things that are not linear. Even though there are still dead things in the literature, as they say... Just look for yourself, everything is growing old. Much of what we read and enthused over during the Fifties and Sixties is today gradually sliding into oblivion. Other readers have appeared on the scene, with different attitudes and different experience of life. I foresee that this assertion will draw down on me a whole series of reproaches from scholars and literary specialists who have remembered these concepts in their own way and gained from them through their suffering; but their teachings do not always convince me. I hope that they will not take offense over what I say. Without doubt scientific theories are essential so as to make some attempt to explain processes that are taking place. And today, in this connection we are living through a profound inner re-examination and renewal, and it seems to me that literary criticism should be renewed and changed and restructured. For it is first and foremost our literary specialists who are the conservatives in literature.

[Question] Could you name some works of the Forties and Fifties that have not stood the test of time?

[Answer] I think that each of us will draw certain conclusions for himself.

[Question] Then what has not grown old?

[Answer] Very little. Much has slipped into oblivion through the sieve of time. What is left? "Tikhii Don," of course--a powerful stage in the development of our literature and artistic thought. This is a pole of popular epic literature that comes from the roots of life. At the other pole we find what I would call the refined, intellectually saturated level of prose, namely, Bulgakov. Between these two poles we find some of the other things that still excite the reader.

[Question] And Tvardovskiy?

[Answer] Well, it is more difficult for me to make judgments about poetry. Of course, Tvardovskiy was great both as a master of and spokesman for great social experiences.

[Question] Nabokov has entered into literary custom, into the arsenal of the reader's perceptions. How do you assess him?

[Answer] This is what I think. Nabokov and other names that have been restored to the reader are all ears of grain on the same sheaf--the sheaf of Russian literature. Even though Nabokov wrote in English, it is still Russian literature. The question of whom he may please or displease is something else again. For we have not become accustomed to reading this kind of Russian literature. To the point, it seems to me that we have invented our own criteria for evaluation and we use them regardless of the fact that they are criteria and do not happen to coincide with common sense. Proceeding from this, the complaints against Nabokov are many; nevertheless, it seems to me that here we have a major word artist and a very interesting interpreter of style.

But Bunin still pleases me; he is closer and more accessible. He is more melodious and I can sense the warmth of his words almost physically. There is a refinement in Nabokov. But the one cannot substitute for the other nor disaffirm the other. The more varied literature is, the richer it is. And so I think that Nabokov has rightly been returned to the bosom of our literature.

[Question] My favorite question: Gauguin said: "In art I am right." Can you say this of yourself?

[Answer] Yes, I can. That is, I do not want to say that I have reached the pinnacles of art and that everything I have done is an absolute masterpiece, but I am right in that I think justice is beautiful and evil ugly.

[Question] Do you have your own laws of art?

[Answer] I have never thought about what my laws are and how I established them for myself. But there is a primordial concept common to all mankind about what is good and what is bad.

[Question] Do the torments of creativity exist for you?

[Answer] For me this is a purely subjective thing. Let us talk about something else.

[Question] About what?

[Answer] I am very envious of Rasputin. He defends Baykal and it is proper that his descendants will always be grateful to him. Just for that alone, never mind that he is a talented writer. I, unfortunately, have two concerns on this plane. Our Issyk-Kul also needs some fast decisions and major efforts because economic needs are taking away every drop of water that should go into

Lake Issyk-Kul and fill it. More than 60 rivers and streams that previously emptied into the lake now no longer reach its shores. And the lake is becoming irreversibly shallow. We all recognize this and talk about it and write about it, me in particular, but we cannot get the better of our economic needs. No one is taking, as it were, a personal responsibility for the lake. But people bear personal responsibility for nonfulfillment of the plan. Herein lies a contradiction between everyday needs and the eternal ecological problems. We are at an impasse. Looking at the lake as it grows shallow and shrinks I recall another lake that is also sacred to the people--the language. If new streams do not empty into the language in the form of the new generations and if they fail to master their mother tongue; if the conditions are unavailable for this and we lack the necessary kindergartens and schools, then it is also a shrinking language, it is also, if not an ecological calamity a national calamity. Up to now it has not been acceptable to talk about these things, we could not talk. And when we began to talk about them out loud we sensed the great inertia of the past. And another thing: the problem of Aral and the Aral Sea is already a catastrophic problem. I do not separate the Aral from the Issyk-Kul just as I do not separate Baykal from these major water reservoirs in the country but I am glad that Baykal has its own defenders and protectors. It is mainly man that is to blame for the catastrophe in the Aral Sea. Our economic affairs, the cotton monoculture, which has literally resulted in ecological devastation because the pursuit of the harvests and the gross product have been killing the Aral. Yes, they say that a great deal of cotton has been going for exports, and still is. I understand the state's need for foreign exchange. But one way or another a major ecological catastrophe has taken place: the sea is disappearing, moving 40 or kilometers from its former shoreline. This entire area has become a zone of devastation, a desert. And this has caused climatic changes, social hardships and poisoned air. We tried to warn the responsible organs about much of this. But without success. The Kazakh writer Nurpeisov, eminent writer of prose and someone who is an expert on the Aral Sea, wrote a long essay on this. For 3 years this material has still not been published; it remains unpublished. Meanwhile, much has been irretrievably lost.

And I would also like to talk about the reviews of "The Executioner's Block." The fact is that until recently perception of the creativity of any particular writer is criticized, often flatteringly and this is perceived as the way to go. Someone sounds the trumpet and all the press organs express their own opinions using this as a sighting device.

The polyphony of different voices and discords tells us that we have now entered a period of broad democratic discussion of any work. And so I think that "The Executioner's Block" was the first ballon d'essai. An avalanche of the most diverse and sometimes diametrically opposed opinions from readers literally rained down on it. But I can see what comes from a deep understanding and what stems from a superficial and tendentious understanding. That is, behind all this I see the most varied motives, including malicious ones, but at the same time I can see the high flight of critical thought, and in the professional sense this suits me and I do not fear extensive discussion or boiling passions.

I have received more letters from readers than could be read at a single sitting. In them we find our pain, our alarm, our proposals. They are talking about something that for many years was not acceptable.

[Question] Chingiz Torekulovich, the "Issyk-Kul Forum" is continuing its work. Today its working members include you, David Roberts and John Le Carre. Not all your readers know about the forum or about the new initiative in the struggle for mankind's future. Could you tell us about this?

[Answer] I think that our journey is the shoots and sprouts of the "Issyk-Kul Forum." Previously it was rare that official contacts became personal good relations. And this is not simply an acquaintanceship; there is a process of mutual enrichment, of dedication to each other's concerns and anxieties. I am very gratified that John Le Carre, of whom I knew little personally, has offered interesting observations and views that in many cases coincide with my own. It is true, we are not philosophers or scholars but we do think that the state is now so powerful that the individual finds himself totally under its diktat. Of course, the collective and the individual is an everlasting thing because a person cannot live all alone. And in different social structures these relationships are established in different ways. Notwithstanding, nowhere does there exist an ideal base that would mean essentially the happiness of each individual person. The meaning of human existence and the dignity of human life lie in this sacred goal. How can it be reached? The artist is obligated to think about this and suggest ways of reaching this goal. This was the subject of one conversation with Le Carre. Another was a consideration of the phenomenon of secrecy in the modern world. Le Carre has written a novel on this subject. What is secrecy? Who needs it? To what degree? We understand that while different political systems exist state secrecy is inevitable. But it is a bad thing when it becomes some kind of self-serving phenomenon. It seems to me that we sometimes love excessive secrecy. There are people who derive some kind of privilege for themselves from this and place themselves in a special position. And then a special apparatus must be set up around the secrecy, and another apparatus around the apparatus, and so on ad infinitum. In any society a certain stratum is created on these grounds that pursues some kind of self-interested advantages and aims... I talk about this honestly, and perhaps people will be found who stand on guard over secrets and will come to hate me for this candidness. But it is a great pity that we spend all this energy and all these means on insuring secrecy. I remember that until recently we kept secret every next spaceflight. Only people's backs were seen, and the cosmonaut reported to a person or said his farewells to a person that we saw only from the rear. But I think that this was only a secret from us while those who had to know probably knew everything.

[Question] When and where will the next meeting of the "Issyk-Kul Forum" take place?

[Answer] Peter Ustinov has suggested that it should be in Geneva this autumn because the founders of the "Issyk-Kul Forum" have agreed to meet at least once a year. Our agenda is open and we do not predetermine or try to anticipate our conversation beforehand. Each participant mulls over his

attitude toward today's painful issues. And in the discussions we express primarily our own attitudes.

I think that the "Issyk-Kul Forum" is one sign of glasnost. No one interferes with us, no one monitors what is said to us or what we say. And there is no need for this. This is, I would say, a major achievement, one of the new definitions of freedom in our times. There are people who talk a great deal about freedom but do nothing. And it seems to me that many people even have no idea of what freedom is. Others think that freedom is when everything is allowed, whatever comes into your head, whatever you do, whatever you say. But in fact this is not so. Freedom is seeking out new spiritual expanses, a new stage in the moral and social perfection of the individual.

/Many impressions remained from the journey to Kirghiziya. Outside the range of this interview Chingiz Aytmatov also expressed interesting reflections on other no less important problems in our present-day life and recent past. For me these were conversations with a man who analyzes life in his own way and thinks deeply about its processes, and suggests ways of restructuring it positively.

I saw Aytmatov in the surroundings of people who trust in him and believe in him both as a writer and as a man. For the upheavals of our times and its essentially tragic nature have been reflected in him, in his biography, his creativity, his social asceticism.

I thought in those days that the deep and powerful course of modern existence should touch each one of us. As it touches the fate of Aytmatov in everything, from philosophical discussion with a very well known English writer and a father's billing and cooing with his daughter Shirin, who had accompanied her father on the trip, to expressing delight over the mountainous beauty of Zailiyskiy Alatau and bursts of distressing recollections about the fate of his forebears at the graveyards we visited. As it affected the main thing in his life--his books--and what it gave rise to in the soul of the writer, the creator of new works.

After I had returned to Moscow, tired from an interesting but not easy journey, and talked about it, it seemed to all the world, I decided to "bring my hero back to earth", and I asked him about the most memorable impression of his childhood and about the time when was nobody, or almost nobody, and his entire destiny was only just starting, beginning to brew, like bread dough beginning to rise./

[Answer] There was one episode in my life, Chingiz Torekulovich started, and I have already mentioned it, but I recall it again because in a literary biography it is essential to return to such things. It was very important because it was the first time in my life that I remembered a person and when and how that happened.

So, I was 5 years old when I first played the role of interpreter and a piece of boiled meat was my first "honorarium." It happened on a high pasture in the mountains, where as usual I was with my grandmother. In those years the kolkhoz farmers has only just started to stand on their own feet, only just

started to organize themselves. Misfortune had befallen our dzhayloo [village] that summer. The stud stallion purchased not long before by the kolkhoz had suddenly died. One day he went down with a swollen belly and breathed his last. The stud farmers were in a flurry of agitation: the stallion had been valuable, a Don horse brought from distant Russia. A messenger was dispatched to the kolkhoz, and from there to the rayon. And a day later a Russian man came to us in the mountains. He was tall, with red hair and blue eyes, and was dressed in a leather jacket with a bag slung across his shoulder. I remember him very well. He did not know a word of Kirghiz, and our people had no Russian. It was necessary to carry out an inspection, clarify the circumstances of the horse's death and draw up a document. The stud farmers thought for a while and decided that I should be the interpreter. And so I stood there in a crowd of young children and we looked at the stranger.

"So," one of the stud farmers said, taking my hand. "This man does not know the language so you will translate what he says and then tell him what we say."

I snrank back; I was scared and I tore myself away from him and ran back to grandmother in the yurt. Behind me came the entire throng of my friends, consumed with curiosity. After some time the man approached again and complained about me. My grandmother was always kind, but on this occasion she was frowning severely.

"Why do you not want to talk with the stranger, lots of people are asking you and you know Russian, don't you?"

I was silent. Outside the yurt the young boys had fallen silent: what would happen?

"Well then, are you ashamed to speak Russian or are you ashamed of your own language? All languages are a gift from god, and that is what you have. Come on."

She took me by the hand and led me thus. The young boys were again behind us.

The yurt, where fresh lamb had already been prepared in honor of the guest, was filled with people. They were drinking koumiss. The stranger--a veterinarian--was sitting with the village elders. He beckoned me, smiling.

"Come here, boy, come here. What is your name?"

I muttered quietly. He pressed me: "Ask them why this stallion died." And he passed me a paper to write it on.

There was a pregnant silence and I remained sullen and could not say a single word. My grandmother was sitting there, confused. Then an old man, one of our relations, took me on his knee. He squeezed me and said very confidentially and very seriously in my ear: "This man knows your father. What will he tell him about us: he will say that his son is growing up badly

among the Kirghizi!" And then he said aloud: "He will talk now. Tell our guest that this place is called Uu-Saz..."

"Uncle," I started shyly, "I... this place is called Uu-Saz, poisoned meadow." And then I grew bolder, seeing how pleased grandmother was, and everyone else in the yurt. And all my life I have remembered this interpreting session, word for word in both languages. The stallion, it turned out, had eaten bad grass. In response to the question of why other horses had not been eating that grass the stud farmers explained that the local horses did not touch that grass because they knew it was not good to eat. And I translated everything.

The stranger commended me and the village elders gave me an entire chunk of the lamb, hot and fragrant, and I ran out of the yurt in triumph. The young boys instantly surrounded me.

"Well, that's great," they exclaimed. You rattle away in Russian like water running in a river, without stopping." In fact I had been speaking falteringly but the boys could imagine it as they liked.

Then we ate the meat and ran off to play.

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SOCIOLOGY INSTITUTE HEAD ADVOCATES STUDY OF ECONOMIC FACTORS

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 6, June 87 (signed to press 15 May 87) pp 18-26

[Article by V. Ivanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Activation of the Human Factor and Sociology"]

[Text] The CPSU links the implementation of the profound and comprehensive restructuring with activation of the human factor and enhancement of the interest, initiative, sense of responsibility, awareness, and general and professional standards of people employed in the various spheres of public life, first and foremost in the production sphere.

As V.I. Lenin remarked, socialism is not created on orders from above but is the result of the historical creativity of the millions. The popular masses are the subject of all social transformations and accomplishments. Their activities in the various spheres of public life also constitute the human factor in the creative process.

Motives and Incentives for Labor.

Activation of the human factor essentially means more efficient use of their potential by workers employed in production, the utilization of social reserves by the labor collectives, and greater efficiency in making use of the motive forces of acceleration. Naturally, it is a question not of short-lived increases in activity but of constantly maintaining it at the level necessary to reach the goals and targets that are set. Because of this, particular importance attaches to creating, with the aid of the social sciences, and sociology in particular, an appropriate mechanism for activating the human factor, that is, a system of links and relationships that could insure the resolution of any given problem. This mechanism is designed to insure the development of initiative and resourcefulness and a sense of responsibility in the various groups involved in social production and at agreeing collective and personal interests and supporting this on the basis of constant interest in the final results of labor and in high labor productivity. This mechanism cannot be any kind of isolated mechanism that is independent from the economic mechanism. Rather, it is essentially a "social component" of the economic mechanism.

Practical economics clearly shows that production management cannot be efficient without due consideration of the social feelings of the various groups in the working population or of their interests and needs and their sense of satisfaction with the results of their labor and the content and conditions of that labor. The "social component" of the economic mechanism also insures a direct influence on the needs, interests and capabilities of the workers.

To put it another way, an active and interested attitude toward the matter is determined primarily by how effectively incentive is provided for conscientious and highly productive labor. In social production this is effected as an integrated system of measures designed to respond flexibly to the economic behavior and activity both of individual workers and labor collectives, mobilizing them for high labor results. In terms of content and form this system should also be subjected to timely changes, that is, restructuring in line with the changing conditions and requirements of social production and giving due consideration to the experience that is gained.

In this connection it is apropos to recall that in May of 1921 the engineer Ye.I. Moiseyev sent a report to V.I. Lenin in which he had written the following: "It is essential once and for all to stop building things on enthusiasm and heroism: people cannot remain for years in a state of ecstatic passion; they should be made to work only through economic necessity. It is only on this prosaic foundation that we can build." V.I. Lenin underscored these words and wrote "Correct!" in the margin."

On what should we focus attention today in this dictum approved by Lenin? First and foremost on the concept of "economic necessity" as a motive providing incentive for production activity. If by this kind of necessity we understand the aggregate of people's main material requirements, then it has always been in human society, is now, and forever shall be. It is precisely the content of economic necessity that also mainly determines people's social behavior and their involvement in social production. But this in no way means that the actual manifestation of the forms and methods by which it acts remain unaltered. It is common knowledge that each new generation has specific economic and social conditions in which it must work and live. These conditions also dictate the specific style of its social behavior.

During the first years of Soviet power the economic necessity for the rising generation to work acted as a material need, as the need to work literally for its daily bread. This was felt quite acutely in the years immediately following the years of the Patriotic War and in the years when the economy was being restored. However, for the present generations this kind of economic necessity has lost its former acute nature. Young people entering into life are often already quite well provided for in the material sense, primarily through the labor of their parents and through the social guarantees and privileges offered by the state from public consumption funds.

Suffice it to say that compared with 1940, in 1985 real incomes for workers and employees per worker had increased by a factor of 4.5, while for kolkhoz farmers the figure was a factor of 8. In 1985 the average monthly family

income, including extra payments and privileges from public consumption funds was R483. Here, we should take into account the absence of unemployment and the lowest rents for apartments anywhere in the world, free education and much else that enables Soviet people to look with confidence to the morrow. This qualitatively new social position occupied by working people should be considered in depth. The writer Ivan Vasilyev has had some good words on this subject: "... under conditions in which 'the individual is offered a guarantee from the state', that is, when he knows nothing of the fear of unemployment and hunger, the fear of having no roof over his head, fear for his children--this is the greatest achievement of socialism!--and, moreover, he is freed from responsibility and no great demands are made of him for the outcome of any matter--under such conditions the art of influencing attitudes acquires extraordinarily great importance" (I. Vasilyev. "Return to the Land." NASH SOVREMENNİK No 6, 1982, p 13).

And so the individual has a "guarantee from the state." He has neither his earlier needs, nor the fear of unemployment and hunger, nor fear for the fate of his children. What previously acted essentially as "automatic incentive" is now a thing of the past for Soviet people. Under these conditions, the problem of incentive must also be approached in a new way, taking into account the solid conclusions drawn by sociology.

New Levers of Incentive.

Today, "economic necessity" is acquiring a richer and more varied content. The range of material claims and the expectations of the members of a socialist society, including young people just moving out into life, have expanded significantly. And here, the problem of complete and good quality coverage of workers' earnings and qualitative growth in their well-being is especially acute. Effective incentive as a means of activating the human factor assumes a consistent struggle against the spread of ideas about leveled distribution as socially just, and against the practice of distribution taking place on the pretext of such ideas. The principle of "goodies for everyone"--both those who work well and those who merely put in an appearance at work and at best just imitate labor activity but do not actually engage in it--should be perceived by all of us as something incompatible with socialist morality and the principle of distribution according to quantity and quality of socially recognized labor.

The results of sociological studies show that by no means all workers work to the limits of their strength and capabilities. According to the results obtained during the course of such studies "one-third of all workers work at full stretch. On their own admission, the rest work under their capacity and could do more and better given a different organization of production." (see T. Zaslavskaya. "The Human Factor in Developing the Economy, and Social Justice." KOMMUNIST No 13, 1986, p 63).

The wage system operating at industrial enterprises during the 11th Five-Year Plan theoretically does not exclude the possibility, for example, of reducing wages for a poor worker or transferring him to a lower-paid job, but in practice these opportunities are not used. It would seem that the rule would be simpler and better understood if it were "Work poorly, live poorly."

However, we have failed to close the gap between proclaiming it and implementing it.

It must be recognized that the role of so-called negative incentive, that is, definite sanctions for unconscientious or low-productivity labor, has been most insignificant in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Their effectiveness has been recognized by many leaders and rank-and-file workers. Nevertheless, studies conducted in 1982 by the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences jointly with the CPSU Tula Obkom at a number of enterprises in Tula Oblast on questions of strengthening labor discipline showed that a majority of workers and employees (62.2 percent) and enterprise managers (58.9 percent) polled think that the most effective sanction against those who violate labor discipline is withholding of bonuses.

There is now a growing understanding that labor "in the warehouse," that is, production of goods that are not sold, should entail material liability, primarily by those who produce them. The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress noted that "we can no longer reconcile ourselves to the fact that workers at enterprises producing unsuitable output live without any particular concern, receiving their full wages and bonuses and other boons." ("Materials on the 27th CPSU Congress." Moscow, Politizdat 1986, p 36).

Of course, more consistent and accurate observance of the principle "from each according to his capabilities to each according to his labor" will lead to greater wage differentials among the population. But this will be a socially justified consequence of more and better labor for the good of society, and correspondingly a fairer evaluation of this labor by society.

Since January 1987 a new system of wages for workers in the production sphere has been in force. During the course of this major measure many questions should be resolved, in particular questions such as improving labor norming. According to official statistics, some workers are now fulfilling norms 125 percent to 135 percent, and sometimes they are fulfilled two or three times over. This indicates the unsound nature of many norms in the technical and the organizational and the economic sense. And unsoundness of norms leads to the formation of above-normative reserves of manpower at enterprises, insufficient loads on workers and equipment, and inadequate labor intensiveness.

The wage reform should help in overcoming this situation of "working at less than full load" both for workers and for engineering and technical personnel, and to the elimination of artificial constraints in payment for high-quality labor—the so-called ceiling and the leveling of wages for high-quality and poor-quality work—and to the creation of wage advantages for workers that acquire skills associated with scientific and technical progress.

The optimal combination of wages according to labor and bonuses and payments from public consumption funds is now assuming special significance. In particular, it is very important that the individual use of social boons offered by the state from public consumption funds be linked more closely with the specific contribution made by each worker to the overall labor result.

Obviously, some forms in which public consumption funds are used should be re-examined giving due consideration to accelerated socioeconomic development and the principles of social justice. Finally, at the living standard that has now been achieved, part of the task might be more fully resolved on the basis of charges made of the public, which would make it possible to concentrate public consumption funds on satisfying the most important social requirements.

The growing role of collective forms of incentive should be especially emphasized. This is explained mainly by two circumstances.

First, the principle of collective incentive, that is, when an entire labor collective (or brigade, shop and so forth) receives material incentive for the result achieved, is more in line with the socialist nature of labor, which is based on the principle of collectivism. Of course, this does not assume wage leveling. With the aid of a coefficient of labor participation (and by other means) it is possible to differentiate each person's material recompense. Here, what is important is that each worker be aware of the direct dependence of personal success on the success of the collective. The brigade form of labor organization and incentive that has become widespread in recent years offers an opportunity for this kind of optimal combination.

Second, under conditions of growing automation in production it will become increasingly difficult to determine the contribution made by each worker to the overall result of collective labor.

The actual contribution and specific production achievements of any particular collective should be taken into consideration in the distribution and use of assets for measures to improve work and leisure conditions, cultural and everyday needs and so forth. And not only the objective indicators for production activity but also the conditions in which they have been achieved, and public opinion, which provides a moral assessment. More consideration than heretofore should be given to the fact that what is important for a person in a labor occupation is not only organized, highly productive and well-paid labor activity but also recognition of his contribution to the common cause and the corresponding social assessment, that is, everything that relates to the category of moral incentive. This latter is acquiring particular importance in the struggle for high labor and production discipline and in shaping the healthy moral and psychological climate in the collective.

Under present-day conditions not only has the content of economic necessity changed but in general the range of motives, interests and needs that determine economic behavior and the activity of socialist workers has also expanded. And here, first and foremost it is essential to use the methods of sociology to study labor itself from the standpoint of its content and conditions.

Since it remains one of the main motives for involvement in socially useful labor, "economic necessity" is being increasingly augmented with needs and interests of a social and spiritual nature. Factors such as social prestige, satisfaction with the conditions and nature of work, opportunities and prospects for professional and social advancement and so forth are becoming increasingly important for the individual. There is also the problem of

social prestige in a number of occupations. In particular, this is a question of the prestige of certain new occupations connected with the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the high intellectual content of labor. These occupations are attracting significant groups of young people. Employment in this kind of labor in and of itself acts as a definite incentive and social value. At the same time prestige is falling in occupations associated with unskilled manual labor having little content, and this is creating problems in finding personnel for the corresponding work places.

During the 12th and subsequent five-year plans unskilled manual labor will be replaced by skilled mechanized and automated labor, and this will lead to the freeing up of large numbers of unskilled workers. In this connection the problem is arising of making the most efficient use of workers and reallocating them to other enterprises, sectors, regions and cities. The possibility is not excluded that certain complications may arise with the job placement of given occupational groups freed up during the course of rationalization of production structures. In order to retain their labor and social activeness at the necessary level it will be essential to provide appropriate assistance for them in mastering new occupations, and to implement the socially necessary compensation measures.

All of this is setting many complicated tasks. The most important of them is the rational utilization of manpower in a way that is in the interests of society and of the individual. On this plane we must "create a mechanism not simply for full employment among the population (this is the stage of extensive development, already passed) but also a socially and economically efficient and rational full employment. The principles of socialism are not principles of charity that automatically guarantee a work place for everyone regardless of his ability to work there. A person must fight everyday in an economic way to retain an adequate work place for himself." (S. Shatalin. "Social Development and Economic Growth." KOMMUNIST No 14, 1986, p 63).

Of course, the assimilation and extensive introduction of this kind of approach require time and certain effort, and a change in the usual stereotypes of thinking and activity. But it is a task that can be accomplished.

Under socialism the person of labor is not only a worker but also a co-owner of the means of production. These two fundamentals should be combined together in him. But within this unity there also lies a contradiction, which cannot be resolved in any ultimate way. It demands constant attention and constant consideration of objective and subjective conditions and factors, including the status of the human factor.

It must be recognized that encouraging the development in each worker of a businesslike attitude toward socialist property has not been effective enough in recent times. Significant numbers of those people working in the sphere of material production are showing indifference and sometimes an irresponsible attitude toward the means of production, and in many workers a unique kind of "employment complex" has been formed, working "from... until...", and a lack of the necessary concern about the outcome of matters in general. Accordingly, during the process of management, measures that are diverse in

nature must be merged together: indoctrination, the preservation of law and order, economic. The latter are particularly important. They must make people interested in having a solicitous attitude toward the consumption of raw materials and materials, sources of energy and so forth.

Sociology and Reserves for Developing Self-Management.

Labor incentive that is adequate to present conditions is not only an effective management tool, including for social processes, but also promotes workers' assimilation of the socialist norms of behavior and activity in the sphere of material production. And this is also of great social significance since it makes a contribution in shaping the kind of worker who is distinguished by a love of labor, discipline and a sense of responsibility.

Slow or incomplete shaping of these types of quality so important for the socialist worker, and even more their deformation under the influence of certain negative objective and subjective factors (unbalanced planning, violations of contract discipline, a consumerist orientation, indifference toward socialist property), exerts an adverse effect on improvements in efficiency in social production. Taking this into account, the management mechanism should not be designed exclusively for highly aware and disciplined workers. It should be designed for everyone, and this means that it should take into account the fact that in a society people live and work who are different in terms of the level of their development, awareness, interests, discipline and so forth. Therefore, sets of both incentives and sanctions should take this diversity into account, that is, be adequately differentiated and flexible.

Under present conditions particularly great importance attaches to the further development of socialist self-management in the labor collectives and to enhancing their role in economic management. However, as V. Kosenko rightly notes. "if the sphere of personal and collective initiative is restricted to how better to carry out orders and implement decisions that have already been made, under these conditions it is not only difficult but simply impossible to instill in workers the 'sense of being their own master' in production or to bring into play the personal, human factor." (V. Kosenko. The Energy of Progress." NASH SOVREMENNIK No 2, 1986, p 126).

The search for new methods and means to activate the human factor assumes constant and complete use of data available from the social sciences, which are designed to determine the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of existing factors and outline the necessary changes in the form and content in line with specific conditions. Here, correct evaluations, conclusions and recommendations are possible only on the basis of proper consideration of the attitudes of various population groups to given forms of incentive or other methods designed to influence the human factor in order to activate it. Special importance attaches to systematic studies of the status of labor and sociopolitical activeness in various groups of workers and of their attitudes and opinions and general social feelings.

In solving this task an important role is assigned to Marxist-Leninist sociology, which studies the mechanisms and law-governed patterns in the

functioning and development of various communities (classes, groups, collectives and so forth) and their needs, interests and opinions. With increased social justice in the economy and the growing importance of the social sphere in resolving national economic problems, the importance of sociology as an objective science is growing. At the same time, the consequences of erroneous approaches and viewpoints in the past and the underestimation of sociology and its potential also affect development of sociology today. The problem of linking it with practice and enhancing its real influence in resolving the tasks of intensification in social production on the basis of scientific and technical progress is becoming especially important.

Experience shows that one successful form in forging this link is the creation at enterprises and associations and in sectors sociological services, which since social psychologists, educators, medical personnel and so forth have been included along with the sociologists, have been named social development services. Today they are designed to act as a means of uniting sociology and the other social sciences with production. This makes it possible, on the one hand, to resolve urgent problems in activating the human factor on the basis of scientific analysis and recommendations proposed by science, and on the other, to bring the social sciences closer to production and focus their attention on the requirements and needs of the working man, that is, give them a greater practical direction. This last circumstance is particularly important: it indicates a realistic way of overcoming the well-known "remoteness" of the social sciences from practical matters; this was dealt with in the CPSU Central Committee Political report to the 27th CPSU Congress and at the all-union conference of leading social science departments.

The social development services at the machine-building and tire plants in Dnepropetrovsk city, the telephone plant in Perm city, the AvtoZIL Production Association (Moscow city), the Svetlana Plant and the Kirovskiy Plant (Leningrad city), KamAZ (Brezhnev city), AvtoVAZ (Togliatti city), Elektron (Lvov city), the sewing association in Tiraspol city, the Baku Domestic Canned Goods Plant and others are well known in the country. The work of many of them was the subject of a thorough examination at a Kiev all-union scientific-practical conference held in Kiev in 1984, devoted to urgent problems in the development of sociological studies in light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, and at scientific-practical conferences held in Dnepropetrovsk, Lvov and Kurgan, where the experience gained in this direction was generalized.

With the help of the party committees, at the enterprises where they are acting effectively the social development services are studying and helping in finding solutions to problems such as personnel turnover, the selection, training and placement of leading workers, job counseling and job placement, regulating the sociopsychological climate, revealing social reserves in production and the potentials of workers and entire collectives, occupational adaptation, strengthening discipline, participating in patriotic initiatives and socialist competition, developing self-management in the labor collectives and so forth. However, they are also encountering--and this is no rarity--descriptive work and the mass copying of stereotype social development plans and reports.

Experience gained in the work of the leading social development services at enterprises and associations was assessed highly in the resolution "On Improving the Organization of Sociological Work in Sectors of the National Economy and Asserting the Standard Provisions on the Social Development Service in Enterprises, Organizations and Ministries" adopted jointly by the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the AUCCTU Secretariat in April 1986. At the same time, the resolution emphasized the need to expand the scales of work being done in this direction and enhance the role of the social development service in controlling social processes. Attention was directed particularly to revealing the social reserves for labor productivity growth and production intensification, and to the need to take sociopsychological factors more fully into account in the organization of labor, everyday conditions and leisure for the workers and in strengthening the moral and psychological climate in the labor collectives.

In alliance with the representatives of other sciences studying the human factor, the efforts of sociologists should be aimed at making production intensification proceed on a balanced foundation, that is, insure that technical innovation is linked with opportunities for workers and their occupational training, full-fledged characteristics, state of health and so forth. Sociological analysis should now already be showing where the necessary prerequisites exist for production intensification and where they still have to be created. One urgent theoretical-methodological problem here is the development of a system of social indicators for the intensification of social production and their inclusion in the social statistics as one of their most important elements. The problem of using the results of sociological studies in practical social control also remains important. There are still many theoretical, methodological and organizational questions connected with the development and practical introduction of recommendations from sociologists and with shaping various levels of sociological thinking in managers.

The main tool for obtaining primary social information is the sociological and socio-psychological study. These studies provide an opportunity for making correct assessments of the prevailing production-and-labor and moral-and-psychological situation and for clarifying problems connected with the human factor and its role in the production process, and the requirements and needs of various categories of workers, the degree to which their personal expectations are being met, and the level of work satisfaction; and for revealing public opinion on urgent problems concerning the vital activities of an enterprise (or association), and so forth.

Thus, for example, during the period 1978-1983 the social development service at the Dnepropetrovsk Machine-building Plant conducted 47 sociological and psychological studies on various problems. How many preschool establishments would the enterprise need in the next five-year plan? Could a shop be switched to a two-shift operation? Where was the best place to site a new shop so that its workers could conveniently get to work? How best to organize urban transport facilities, the plant dining halls? How to organize work at enterprises in the services sphere at the new trade and everyday center? This

is by no means a full list of the questions to which the service provided answers on the basis of the studies it conducted.

With the aid of psychologists and sociologists, at a number of production associations in Moscow Oblast recommendations have been drawn up concerning the selection and placement of leading personnel, reducing the probability of errors in their appointments and improving the reliability of the reserve for promotion.

The social development services are also involved in the form of social control known as social planning. It is precisely here that many of the practical recommendations from the sociologists are reflected. Experience shows that social planning produces a palpable result only if it becomes a permanent element in the social life of the collective, if the entire collective (or at least most of it) becomes involved in the planning sphere, and if it is built on scientific foundations and extensive use is made of the social information obtained by various methods, including polls of the workers.

With the aid of the social development services a "social model" is developed for an enterprise (or association or sector) for a 5-year term or longer, and the degree to which it is being built is "measured" by the year and the necessary corrections and refinements are introduced in line with the requirements, realistic opportunities and changing conditions and tasks in the production activity of the collective. It also provides a social base for plans to expand production and reconstruct production by relying on a system of social normatives.

Along with the term "social normatives," the term "social landmarks" has also recently appeared in the Soviet scientific literature; by which is meant indicators for the activity of leading collectives in resolving social problems. In aggregate they make up a system of social benchmarks that form the basis of social planning and designs. This system is periodically re-examined taking into account the effects of scientific and technical progress and other factors.

Special measures reflecting the new demands being made by scientific and technical progress on the quality of the labor force are being increasingly included in social development plans, and on larger scales. In many cases already workers are needed who are capable of using not only today's equipment but also tomorrow's; and not only workers and engineers, but also production managers at various levels. Support is given to experience in introducing a system of large-scale purpose-built equipment (MTsO) under conditions of the introduction of major scientific and technical innovations. This system at once covers a large group of workers in various occupations. This kind of carefully organized retraining gives good results. The question of creating a unified, national system for personnel training and retraining and the reallocation of personnel freed up because of technical progress and other factors, is also now on the agenda.

In this work it is very important to take into account the social requirements for work places and technological processes, and to achieve the necessary

degree of comfort for the person working with modern equipment, taking fully into account the factors adversely affecting the health. And first and foremost designers and developers should be thinking about the women employed in production processes. Today, special importance attaches to Lenin's demand that when introducing technical and organizational innovations in the labor sphere they should be combined with "cutbacks in working time and the use of new methods in production and the organization of labor without detriment to the labor force in the working population" (Lenin, V.I. Complete Collected Works. Vol 36, p 141). The efficiency of new equipment should be evaluated taking into account not only the technological and economic aspects but also the psychological and social factors. While equal to the best world achievements in the development of technology, we must nevertheless go down our own path. At the present stage of development we are capable of consciously shaping the lineament of our own technology on the basis of socioeconomic requirements, in line with the conditions and goals of a socialist society.

In this connection, analysis of the effectiveness of social measures and the mechanism by which they influence production should be firmly incorporated into the content of sociologists' activities, first and foremost those who are working as part of the social development services.

The contribution of sociology in activating the human factor and in solving many of the tasks of restructuring could be more significant if a number of pressing theoretical, methodological and organizational problems in its development were resolved. Despite the considerable experience gained in empirical studies the scientific armamentarium and structure of sociology remain inadequate, and there has still been insufficient study of the cognitive possibilities of methods for collecting data and of the influence of the personal characteristics of those collecting sociological information (interviewers, those compiling questionnaires) on the cognition and perception of respondents and on the approach and the reliability of the information gathered. Further work on the methods and models of mathematical analysis of data obtained is also urgent. Work to raise the professional level of sociologists and to train and retrain them must be carried out on larger scales. Resolution of these problems will enhance the role of sociology as an effective means both for studying the social milieu in socialist society and as a tool for managing that society.

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The party course toward accelerated socioeconomic development requires major improvements in the quality of all scientific research work by sociologists and constant attention to new problems, and a creative scientific approach in seeking out the best ways to bring into play the reserves and opportunities available in activating the human factor. One achievement in the initial phase of restructuring has been the changed atmosphere in society and the

unloosing of the social and political activeness of Soviet people interested in participating in all the affairs of society and in boldly and actively raising and discussing the problems of our advance. And for sociology the task is constantly to discover the reserves for growth in this creative activity.

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heads, covered with black caps, are shaved to the skull. They're dressed in black overalls with their name tags adorning the chest area. Their eyes in some mysterious way combine elements of watchfulness, obstinacy, and fearfulness--everything, except what is natural at their age: joy. They live within the confines of two tall barriers, with dual signaling systems in operation.

The windows are lined with heavy bars--a typical feature, just like, shall we say, flowers in a pot in some other setting. To those who are serving time here the bars are an obstacle and a symbol of captivity. I spoke with a number of offenders, trying to find out if those bars ever cause them to think about something else--do they realize what they've done, do they admit they're guilty?

When M. F. Levin, director of the first squad, told me that Vladislav Levitskyy was serving time for taking part in a group rape involving a teen-age girls, I was ready to doubt the major. This guy? Pretty face, Mommy's little boy who is in fact disfigured just a little due to a lump on his forehead and a cross-shaped scar on his head (probably busted his head open once and was stitched up)? For his offense, he was sentenced to the remarkably short term 2 years, when the minimum sentence under his Article at the time was 5 years.

"What do you make of it?" asked Mykhaylo Herasymovich. "Why were you given such a light sentence?"

"You mean to tell me that 2 years is not enough?" (Levitskyy casts a glance with his little eyes). "We never forced her: she did it herself...."

"Yeah, yeah, she grabbed herself and pulled herself up to the loft. Maybe you got 2 years because your mother works for the Ministry?"

Levitskyy is silent. He really doesn't want to talk about his mother. But something else.... Among the special contingent of the colony nearly a third of the guys are arrogant bastards. Hardly anyone considers himself guilty, and rarely does anyone all of a sudden repent. More often than not they carry their sin around with dignity. At the same time, adult offenders of serving terms at corrective labor colonies under Article 117 of the UkSSR Criminal Code are treated as scum.

This "she did it herself" business really does happen, though. Their girl friends often become their victims. Together they smoke, drink (not only wine), and occasionally will take opium, which incites these young men to commit rape.

However, this has nothing to do with our pretty boy Levitskyy.

"Maybe you'll want to marry the girl after all?" offers Mykhaylo Herasymovich.

The young lad shakes his head no. It is doubtful whether he has understood anything, and probably won't until the day he has his own family and raises a daughter.

After we had spoken, something flashed in the eyes of the young man. A trace of fear. The director had released him without the usual reprimand for having put his cap on in the office and not in the corridor as he was supposed to. Levein carefully watched the boy from behind and wondered if he had done the right thing in not calling attention to this minor infraction.

The language used by the warders and their pupils isn't always the same. For example, the problem is not in having these incorrigibles refer to the cafeteria as a "grease pit," or in having them call drugs "grass." The words they use for certain things is not what matters (what does is that we have a number of offenders who have completely emptied their minds of human compassion).

"In our adult offender colonies," says deputy political advisor S. O. Stolyarov, "there's no such tendency to be an immoral "romantic" as there is here among our pupils. They learn this kind of stuff on the streets, taking 'lessons' in the company of recidivists and also in the holding cell, where they are kept until their trial and afterward, having acquired the necessary 'learning.' We need to form an active group to function as a monitor right there in the cells, since by the time they are being transported they have already made an oath not to split up. By law, juveniles under 18 should be kept apart from those over 18, but of course not everything in life is done according to law...."

True, the Kuryazh inmates have their own code of ethics. The older guys watch over the younger ones. A large number of the guys, though they do it secretly, pound the hell out of those scoundrels who commit violations.

Sooner or later many of them begin to think about things more seriously. Then the words of the warders start taking on a little more meaning.

...Oleg Moskalenko is from the Pervomayska Nikolayev Oblast. Sitting on a bench near the school, we begin our conversation. Touching on education first, he explained how difficult it was to earn a grade of C in any of his classes. Almost everyone learns and puts in an hour a day for homework. Oleg received C's in algebra, geography, and chemistry. In his other classes he made B's and A's. I thought to myself if only these kind of demands were required of everyone on the outside, we should find fewer of these assholes here. Any school that does not give out D's is spoiling its kids. They learn early that rewards can be earned (and at what price?) without having to do any hard work. They also have too much free time on their hands. The policy here is that a grade of D will close the door to an early release.

It seems like we covered about everything. Oleg even said something I didn't expect to hear: "At first I thought it was all her fault, but now I see that we were to blame" (he and another guy raped a 22-year-old girl). I sensed that, even after this confession, Oleg was not asking for forgiveness. I decided to ask a question that was foolish, but I

had to know: "Do you like it here in Kuryazh?" With a disconcerting smile he said: "A zone is a zone," and then added:

"You know, it's hard living here, but not impossible. After I was sentenced I trembled with fear. I thought about the barracks, the plank beds. I was afraid the zeks would kill me.... But the reality is... Well, you've seen for yourself...."

Not always will you find this type of honest confession. It can be quite different.

...Against the background of murderers and rapists, Oleksiy Buynovskiyy almost seems like a hero. He really does deserve our sympathy: a tall, handsome youth who looks nice even if his hair did fall victim to the clippers. He was arrested for theft. Who's to blame? Oleksiy responds in a tone of voice that implies: "You mean to tell me you don't know?"

"Who is to blame? The schools, the Komsomol. In our Kiev SPTU-7 they posted a bulletin for enrollment in the Karate Section. We were interested and so went on over there. When we showed up for the training, we found out there was no Karate Section: it was free-style wrestling. The trainer needed an ace up his sleeve, but since no one was interested in going out for wrestling they duped us."

He and his friends had stolen not so much for profit (they sold their stuff for practically nothing) as for the risk involved and the thrill of danger. With a stopwatch in their hands, they knew exactly when the train would arrive, leaned what the marks on the containers meant, and ran underneath contact wires. We suffer greatly from the fact that we've not given our youth opportunities for developing a productive social life.

To tell the truth, Oleksiy is outraged at the investigating officer: he had promised all of them a suspended sentence in return for an honest confession. They fully admitted their guilt and agreed to pay back the value of the stolen goods, yet the Darnitsky People's Court of Kiev sentenced them to a full term.

"I understand everything now, looking back at the past; it all seems like childish rubbish. It's my own fault that I'm here, so why not talk about something else, all right?" I read all this in his eyes. Or maybe I just imagined what I wanted to.

We can rest assured with regard to Oleksiy's future. He's an activist, a "sankom"; here this means a lot. "He's a good kid--always doing what is right." This is not just the director's opinion; Oleg Moskalenko said the same thing.

[Text]

2. Before and After the Trial

If only they had known what life in the colony was like before they started getting involved in crime! The regulations and hard labor bewilder the newcomers to such a degree that some try to escape over the fence. After awhile they get used to it. The food in the cafeteria is far from being dietetic. The bedrooms are located on the second floor of the dormitory (true, you won't be sleeping very long on the white sheets). There is a room for political indoctrination, with a television that can only be turned on from the director's office. The typical smell of carbolic acid. It's clean here; they do all the work themselves. It would be strange to see someone else cleaning up after them.

In this colony you won't find many people from Kharkov. Those were the instructions handed down by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: offenders are brought here from the more distant oblasts. Among the locals are the sons of single mothers who cannot risk leaving their smaller children at home when they have an appointment to go to. Shall I point out that such encounters are educational moments, too? However, not everyone....

The operator telephoned M. H. Levin. The mother of Oleg Chopikov would like to speak with the director of the squad.

"Tell her I do not wish to meet with her," Mykhaylo Herasymovich suddenly interrupted. "That's the message you can give her.... She knows." Then he went on to explain:

"Oleg is serving time for hooliganism and his behavior has not been good. He's rude to the warders, stirs up trouble among the pupils, and argues with the activists. Twice I have asked Antonina Oleksiyivna to talk to her son, and what does she do but tell him fairy tales. She begs me to be easy on Oleg.

"This is not being hard-nosed. At times warders are forced to raise their voices in order to command a little respect. In short, they have to be strict to compensate for the fathers these kids don't have. Talk about the father's role is nothing new. In the last few years, maybe because the press, television, and movie industry have sounded the alarm, the percentage of juvenile offenders under 18 from stable homes has decreased; on the other hand, the number from broken homes and among children of alcoholics, drug abusers, and prostitutes has increased.

"If only sociologists were working ahead of us. Then, for example, they could tell us whether the development of an intensive work program for individuals will have an affect on criminal behavior. What we're saying is that family cooperatives would improve the quality of service to the

people. Fine. What affect will the business atmosphere in these families, with the parent's new income, have on our teen-agers? We should also be concerned with corrective countermeasures...."

...Black columns can be seen going to work. The pupils seem a little agitated in not knowing what their job assignments are. It is likely to disturb some people to see how we treat the kids so leniently. Once they were ruthless and scheming, and now they want to abide by the law--and their conscience. Of course, we're not talking here about an extra bowl of soup. They've all committed crimes, but the thing that bothers them the most is whether they've been given a fair sentence. The fact is that at least two-thirds of them consider their punishment excessive or unjust. But when the conversation concerns a friend, you will more than likely hear an objective viewpoint.

...A watch, a generator and headlight off of a bicycle, a jacket, and a number of other small items--these are the things that Yurko Vasilyev and Sergiy Tabursky had stolen from teen-agers like themselves. And Yurko claims he had "taken" these things not for himself but for a friend. The People's Court sentenced him to a term of 4 years. Vasilyev is getting along fine; he's been transferred from pupil status to worker status. When they informed him about this, he thanked everyone. And, I thought to myself, it's too bad our procurators didn't have the sense to decide Vasilyev's sentence man to man in the office of the investigating judge. Instead, he drew a 4-year term for petty hooliganism! And someone else may get only 2 years for rape. What will this young boy of 15 think about our judicial system once he is freed? I wish I could meet face to face with the investigating judge who handled the boy's case, but unfortunately he doesn't come around here. Not even a single person among all those who conducted investigations into the crimes committed by the youngsters is willing to come to Kuryazh, when, in fact, they are the ones who should be monitoring the progress of these young men up until the time of their release.

How they long for that day! In the rooms designated for political indoctrination, one will find a section devoted to legal materials on the thematic stands. Alongside texts of various articles listing the penalties of each crime is Article 53 of the USSR Criminal Code: "Suspended Sentence...." It is the cherished dream of every offender to be tried under this article. They earn this right on the basis of good conduct and a positive mental attitude toward work and learning.

Of course, there are those who may wonder: "You can a person who has beaten up and raped somebody be released before his term has expired?" It all depends on what we hope to achieve in punishing these youngsters. If it's vengeance we're after, by all means, we should give them the axe. If our aim is reform, our concern should be less for the severity of punishment and more for the ways in which crime can be deterred. Long ago Lenin said the same thing, and the instructors here at the colony believe it.

A suspended sentence is for the court to decide, but the administrators at the colony hand over all documents once a decision in favor of the youngsters has been reached. We have special people who watch over these kids, who worry about them until their hair turns gray: then all of a sudden, someone commits a violation. Immediately, an investigation is under way and the director finds himself in an unpleasant situation. If they find that the release was "sped up," the guilty party will be placed behind bars. There was an incident involving a foreman who was sentenced for taking brides from one of the local pupils; in return he promised the kid a suspended sentence.

Life itself dictated the logic behind Article 53 in Kuryazh. Last year, 22 of the offenders had sentences suspended; they have all managed to settle down to a decent lifestyle, not returning to their former ways. It's usually this way.

Earlier, juvenile offenders were kept at the Educational Labor Colony up until their 18th birthday and then were transferred to the Corrective Labor Colony (for adults). Occasionally, this turned into a tragedy: some had found the atmosphere unbearable, having been forced to live among inveterate criminals. After a series of experiments, the legislative assessor decreed that those who set a good example would be allowed to stay at the Educational Labor Colony until their 20th birthday. A number of people were spared, thanks to this decision.

However, we still have one other problem: a 20-year age limit and a suspended sentence. Spartak Amfiriadi of Kryvoy Rog had been sentenced in the past for hooliganism; today he's the finest worker in the colony. "He works hard and sets a good example"--this kind of description you'll often hear even from those instructors who normally don't give praise. This June, Spartak turns 20 and will be eligible for parole in 7 months. Will it come about at the colony for adults? He's not sure. He does know, however, that the guys from the other colony, who have written letters, encourage the ones here to stay and earn their privileges at Kuryazh, which is much easier to do than at the other place.

Oleksander Aleksyeyev, having transferred to the colony for adults, was not offered a job in his field. He's under a lot of stress and pressure, started getting rude, incurred two penalties and lost his privileges. He must wait another year before his release under Article 53. The work of the Kuryazh warders has gone down the tubes.

There's one more thing. Incurrigibles as well as activists who aren't lucky enough to stay because of their age are transferred to adult (over 13) colonies. Thus, the "children of prison" having made themselves feel right at home among the recidivists, are a constant reminder to their adversaries--the activists. Now is it clear why the best pupils in this colony are kept until after their 20th birthday? It may be for as much as a month or two longer, or even 6 months. Although there is a risk involved, they [the administration] are willing to stick their necks out because it is worth the risk.

Anfimiadi is not the only one. There are many like him who need assistance from the lawmakers. Perhaps those who have worked faithfully should be allowed to have their sentences reduced, especially in this type of colony?

"See what a good guy he is!" I hear the ironic accusation. No, that's not the point. Genuine human compassion is needed no less than strict discipline. And the law must be upheld. We have some in the special contingent who don't even deserve to be called "pupils." Vasyl Mozharov, arrested for hooliganism, is currently serving terms for possession of drugs--hashish. His behavior at the colony has been outrageous. He considers himself a real "swindler": he humiliates the weaker ones and forces them to swap their finest things for some of his stuff. In short, Mozharov incurs penalty after penalty and alternates doing time between quarantine and solitary confinement. Even his sister wrote: "You stupid ass, how long are you going to play these games?"

Quite honestly, not everyone reforms. Offenders like Mozharov have done time in various colonies, as they say, from Rome to the Crimea. When they are finally released, they go out and commit the same crimes and draw other young kids into their sphere. While they themselves remain habitual offenders, the younger ones become new disciples. It's like a plague.

Although administrators of the colony claim they can recognize such "children of the prison" almost immediately, what can they do? They can issue reprimands, for example assigning twice as much clean-up work; they can prohibit the sending or receipt of packages and parcels; or finally, they can transfer offenders to the disciplinary ward for up to 10 days.

In truth, the law permits malicious offenders to be transported to strict regime colonies. However, this has to be done through the courts, which is a long process; more importantly, these offenders are separated from the rest of the pupils so that this example doesn't really teach anyone.

All this has only been partially effective. Regardless of how bad the behavior of the offender may be, he continues to serve his term. It's also important that the time spent in solitary confinement not be applied toward the original term. We need to tighten our control by imposing stiffer penalties rather than allow guys like Mozharov to go on living a life of ease. If we can do this, then maybe they will lose their desire to live here like bums.

By the way, here is the answer to those who believe that repression against offenders should be intensified: true "children of the prison" create their own special laws--and the educational result is nil.

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[Text]

3. The Last Resort

The general-regime Educational Labor Colony in Kuryazh evolved from the ideas of A.S. Makarenko, who founded the first colony for the homeless.

called Gorky. Next year will mark the 100th anniversary of his birth. Invariably, comparisons are made. In the past, most of Makarenko's colonists stole just to survive. Currently there are 50 persons in Kuryazh serving terms for theft, and not because they were starving to death.

Now then, how much of what goes on in Kuryazh today can we attribute to Makarenko? Right away I would say a great deal. The principles of reform advocated by this man are still being practiced. Statistics accurately depict that for every 100 offenders sent to the colony, 90 never return to a life of crime. However, not everyone here agrees with Makarenko's methods.

The brilliant educator maintained that the basis of reform revolves around the concept of work. But what type of work? Smelting, for instance, is considered one of the basic jobs in the colony. I have seen pupils standing near the molding machines and the blast furnaces covered with filth. Even most adults living at home would not want to work in this kind of shop. We now have legislation that exempts young teen-agers from working at jobs involving extremely high temperatures. The letter of the law has been upheld; by and large, the ones working at this type of job are at least 18 years old. But what about the spirit of the law?

I wonder whose "petitions" made it possible for a smelting shop to be set up in a juvenile offender colony?

Of course, if work is to be used as a form of punishment, then a shop like this is needed. That will teach them to raise hell, to filch! But Makarenko, whose pupils were no angels either, for some reason preferred work that was more attractive. Kuryazh had more of an agricultural profile, whereas Anton Semenovitch's other commune in Kharkov--ineni Dzerzhinsky--specialized in the manufacture of cameras.

If it is true, in a general sense, that we should teach our young kids the value of work, then it's a hundred times more important to teach juvenile offenders this same truth. In light of this problem, couldn't the mechanic's shop serve the same purpose? Hardly. They make electrical pumps here, but so far there's been too much waste. The demand for better quality has increased; unfortunately, the equipment is outdated. Even the pupils striving to do honest work are giving up. After this sort of thing, can we expect them to like their new professions?

This is a "secret" known to all who are involved. Therefore, construction was the number one concern of the new director of the colony, I. L. Pidgorny. A nursery school has been established: a housing project is near completion; and walls are being erected for the quarantine inside the zone. There are also plans to build new dorms and a new museum to be named Makarenko. Furthermore, this means additional jobs--an important factor in an overcrowded colony.

Igor Lvovich is an energetic and hard-working man. He's a unique person and an interesting individual. As a young boy, he used to plow land. Igor knows how to handle a discussion or lead a conversation. As one of the top squad leaders in all the Educational Labor Establishments in the Soviet Union, he was awarded the Order of Labor Red Banner. He has a number of friends who are connected with the colony, for example, two-time Olympic boxing champion Boris Lahutin. But the colonel is not a pushover; he's plenty strict and, if need be, he can be severe. Lvovich has managed to maintain order among his subordinates. Within the special contingent bad behavior has decreased.

Unfortunately, not all of the instructors in Kuryazh are reincarnated Makarenkos. It's not everyone who can inspire and captivate the minds of their pupils. There's only one hope then--the regime. The regime forces the pupils obey regulations, but who knows what frame of mind these young kids are in when they leave this place?

It's not anyone's fault--just one of those unfortunate things. Much thought has been given in regard to the training of special instructors to handle the "zeks"; however, it's been a wasted effort. To compare, let's take the case of Claudia Vasyilivna Kim, a psychologist who came to our colony a short time ago. She is becoming more and more convinced that penetrating the souls of these young offenders is an extremely complicated matter. This is the opinion of a trained specialist. What can we say then about squad leaders, instructors, and foremen who have never been taught how to relate to teen-agers? Furthermore, they don't have the necessary psychological techniques.

Recently, the colony received a new group of youngsters: drug users and alcoholics. What is lacking is a strong substance abuse center at this place, plus a psychiatrist. Specialists from the Institute of Neurology and Psychiatry provide counseling; university professors and philosophers of pedagogical institutes are also helping out. All this is a recent development; nothing like this was available in our zone before. Still, there's a big difference between the specialist who comes for an hour or so and the specialist who works full-time, whose results can be measured more clearly.

The Psychology Department of Kharkov State University is one of the most active patrons of the colony. In all, this kind of work is also carried on by 11 other enterprises and VUZ's. After writing this, I thought to myself: shouldn't I put this in quotes? In the first place, why even have "patrons"? These adolescents, who later became delinquents, should have been under the care of the school; if not the school, then the PTU [Professional-technical Academy]; if not PTU, the labor collectives. That is, all of us. The colony is the last resort in an effort to correct our mistakes. So do we really need to look for a patron.

In the second place, this patronage business is too formal. Unless it has a psychological effect on young minds especially disturbed ones, rather than being merely a check-mark in the plan. The older workers of the

colony recall moments when students from the Academy imeni Hovoravo used to come in and work with the youngsters; they organized military games for the kids. That was a real treat then, but it was still a shame that the games were prepared only during holidays, and not more often.

Now, let's take the case of the 11 enterprises and institutes. They do some good things. Workers came in from the "Kominar" industrial association: Superguys. They brought their guitars and sang songs they had written in Afghanistan. The young colonists were captivated. They experienced the real essence of romance--solemnity and a fighting spirit. One of the performers to appear was V.O. Petrov, a fine worker and an excellent speaker, Hero of Socialist Labor, and brigade at the Malishev plant. Members of the break dancing ensemble from the Palace of Culture of the Kharkov Tractor Plant also came. The colonists were simply overwhelmed by all of this. It showed that the authorities really cared about them, especially when they invited the break dancers.

It seems that all these "patronage" measures have a predominantly mass character. Why not just place the squad in a room for political indoctrination and proceed to instruct? However, every kid from the special contingent has a totally unique background. They became delinquents not because of a lack in training, but because no one worked with them individually.

Together with the assistance of Oblast Procurator V.O. Miznikov, they tried to determine the percentage of people around Kharkov who are busy helping our "hard-core" juveniles. Here are the figures: 137 commissioned military inspectors; 65 workers assigned to the Commission for Juvenile Affairs; 180 commissioned teachers and athletic organizers in Zhek's; 400 assistant directors of schools with programs for teen-agers. I had a good reason to emphasize the word "Commissioned." Nearly a thousand social workers have been released from other obligations in order to do one thing--work with the kids. In addition, there are public instructors, production foremen, specialists and their assistants in athletic competition, who have also devoted themselves to working with "hard-cores," but these are too numerous to count. All together there is something like 40,000. What an army! At the present time, there are 3,500 registered juvenile offenders in 9 Kharkov Oblast, with 10 instructors for each pupil. Maybe the reason juvenile delinquency has not shown a decline is due to the fact that young people are not receiving adequate personal attention. It's easier to work with a thousand than it is with one. When you work on an individual basis, you are held accountable for that person's upbringing, which is not the case when you work with a large group. Thus, the Kuryazh Colony stands as the last resort in this kind of "work."

All the same, I was told that over the last 15 years not one school of professional-technical academy director, not one public instructor or guardian of the collectives had bothered to come to Kuryazh to find out how their former pupils were getting along. Military inspectors and

workers from regional committees, who had unsuccessfully devoted themselves to the juvenile problem, also made no effort to visit. This is what's happening: what the eyes don't see, the heart can't feel.

The Komsomol was not mentioned in this list. That is why I made a special effort to meet with the second secretary of the Kharkov Oblkom Komsomol, Olekdander Oliynik, and with instructor Sergiy Khmel--to find out what the oblast organization of the All-Union Komsomol was doing in the way of reeducating offenders at the colony.

This topic created quite a stir. Everything is being done! Institutes are providing sponsorships; students are conducting cultural-educational classes. There are plans to build a new stadium and park, as well as the Makarenko Museum. There are staffs at work. We have rayon days in the colony. Reports from the raykoms claim that preparations have been made. Various secretaries have been meeting with juvenile offenders. The strain of activity. There is work to be done, but the enthusiasm is lacking. Why?

Somewhere in our long list of things to do in preparation for the 100th anniversary of A.S. Makarenko's birth, we neglected to mention one important point. Members of the oblast Komsomol operational detail have taken the initiative personally to oversee the "hard-core" offenders at the colony. What those geeks need more than anything else is medicine for the soul. But, there are some here who never receive a visit from anyone during their entire stay. The Komsomol operatives had promised to come in a week or so but showed up only once during a 3-month period. They don't have time; besides, they don't want to sacrifice their evenings and holidays. And the kids keep on waiting. There's nothing else for them to do.

I thought to myself that Anton Semenovich Makarenko would not have tolerated this type of "patronage."

I don't know if Maria Petrivna will be pleased with my account. I'm convinced of one thing: we are not going to find the reasons behind crime here at the colony; we have to look on the other side of the fence. It's true that Kuryazh was first developed in order to help children of war. Today, all we have to offer is this: indifference, nauseating "child rearing" practices, pretention, bureaucracy, family dissension, alcoholism, and selfishness. This is our final attempt to save the kids. We should be able to do better than this.

[17 Jun 87 p 4]

[Text]

4. A Peculiar Fate

The thoughts expressed in these pages would not have been complete had I not met up with a certain person in Kuryazh who has experienced life here and supports the general policy of the colony.

...Viktor's crime was serious. He and his friends robbed a drunk. When the man came to his senses and tried to defend himself, the boys hit him over the head with a rod. Viktor was sentenced to 6 years for the offense. At the time he was not yet 15. Later, he would thank the court for having adjudicated his crime with absolute precision; but for now, as he paced to work or school, he kept thinking what could be done to get himself out of here sooner. His main hope was to be granted an amnesty. He wanted to be freed so he could take revenge on his neighbor who had testified against him in court--to take revenge in such a way that he would have an alibi. And Viktor already knew all the tricks of the trade....

Now he thinks: "What a blessing that my article was not covered by the amnesty"! About 2 years ago his thoughts began circling in another direction. Due to his young age, he was assigned to light work in the greenhouse. He did well with his job and his studies; having served two-thirds of his term already, Viktor even hoped to become eligible for parole. "What will I do when I get out of here? Surely greenhouse assistant is no specialization."

But wait! We should examine this turning point in his rehabilitation. The moment was here; it happened gradually, not overnight. At the time, Viktor wasn't particularly fond of his instructors. Just like all the punks here, he claimed to have arrived at this decision on his own. He was granted permission to leave the greenhouse and so to the colony's vocational-technical school, even though his boss was reluctant to let a potentially good boy like Viktor go. At the school, he received special training as a lathe-operator, and at the industrial plant he trained as a welder.

The time of his release was getting near. Parole. According to his calculations, he would be out in January. Viktor approached the foreman of his squad:

"Mikhailo Herasimovich, if possible, don't present me to the council here at the colony just yet."

M. H. Levin in all the years that he has worked in Kuryazh has seen and heard about everything, but nothing like this. In the tradition of Makarenko, they refer to the special contingent as "pupils," when actually they should be called "juvenile offenders." They allow the kids to call them by first name and patronymic, although instructors have the right to demand military forms of address. In their own way, they have a special liking for the kids here. But no one ever expected Viktor to be this devoted to the colony--to the point of wanting to stay longer. The highest form of punishment in Makarenko's day was expulsion from Gorkiy Camp, but that is not the case in Kuryazh today.

Viktor wanted to stay not because of a special liking for the place. Then, after a couple of years, they suggested he could come back as an independent worker--again he felt uncomfortable. He finally decided it

would be best to confine himself to this place for another 6 months. He felt that to transfer out of the 10th grade from one school to another (particularly from the one here at the zone) might hurt his chances of getting a certificate. Viktor's grades were all A's. He noticed how suspicious the instructors had become, how detached the pupils were (behind the desk sits yesterday's "zek"). Still, he was determined to stay until the end of school.

One has to know the content of Article 53 to assess the importance of the 18-year-old's decision. The court does not have the power to suspend his sentence under this article. A person on parole is under close supervision, and if another crime is committed during this period, the court will impose an additional term to what is left of the original. Here at the zone, regulations are strict; one can lose one's privileges even without committing a violation. At last Viktor had come to believe in himself and in human justice.

With his certificate in hand, he walked through two large doors and became a free man. Who is he? Yesterday he was a cutthroat; today, an honest citizen. He's starting a new life, and wants to be a teacher. At the colony he learned the reasons behind the tragedy of juvenile offenders: the family, the school and the kids themselves.

It appears that he has learned the meaning of life—at least he has seen aspects which not every adult has. However, he still had to deal with people's suspicions.

He forwarded his documents to the Kharkov Pedagogical Institute. Perhaps at any other VUZ it wouldn't have mattered where Viktor had gotten his certificate, but the people here know where the Kuryazh secondary school is. The Institute oversees the colony. The girls from the admissions department hurried over to the chief secretary, who in turn consulted with the rector (the first case of its kind at the Institute). The rector said there was no reason to turn down an ex-offender. He spoke with some regret in connection with this oversight in the law.

That year Viktor failed his exams. Even after all he's been through, he still believes that he didn't do any worse than the others who passed.

At the Svitlo Shakhtarya plant Viktor was finally able to apply the skills he had acquired at the colony. He became a member of Komsomol, received "clean" documents, and took them to that same Pedagogical Institute.

We should emphasize the fact that Victor graduated from the VUZ and was presented with a teaching assignment in the Sumy Oblast. After a long period of indecision, the director of his former colony (a place he knew well) offered him a job as athletic instructor.

But let's not get ahead of ourselves. What follows next is really the most important part. There's nothing strange about the fact that yesterday's offenders are now upstanding citizens. This is the goal of

reform. It seems the ones who do the most good here at Kuryazh are ex-offenders. Grygoriy Sergiyovich Parkhomenko is director of the smelting shop; Ivan Yakovich Minenkov is a caster; Oleksander Mikolayovich Timchenko is the smelting foreman; and Oleksiy Nesterovich Kylymnyuk is foreman of the mechanical shop. By their examples, they try to convince other pupils that their lives are not over yet, just because they're in here serving time. You just have to take hold of yourself and everything will work out all right. Grygoriy Sergiyovich and Ivan Yakovich joined the Communist Party.

It seemed that everything was going smoothly. But then Igor Lvovich Pidgorny uttered a sigh:

"You don't know how many battles we had to fight to get these guys permission to work here! Three times the procurator of the republic gave orders not to admit anyone into the zone who had a previous conviction."

Is this right? It makes it seem as though the justice administration doesn't believe in its own methods of reform.

Moreover, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which directly oversees the colonies, doesn't believe in itself, either. An order arrived recommending that athletic instructors be given official titles. Documents were submitted on behalf of Viktor. However, they were sent back from Moscow: there was a "blemish" in his biography. Normally, the USSR Ministry of Defense does not consider a previous conviction to be an obstacle. A number of prominent people are former inmates of Kuryazh, for instance the commander of a battleship assigned to the Pacific Ocean and an officer of the Soviet Army. Does this mean that the shoulder straps of navy and army officers are considered inferior to the ones worn by a lieutenant of the Internal Affairs service?

I know that these pages will be read at the Kuryazh Colony. In general, the pupils of the colony right now are subscribing more and reading a lot more interesting things in the newspapers than their predecessors of the 1960's and 1970's. And I'm sure they're wondering: who is this guy Viktor, whose last name the correspondent hasn't even mentioned?

This is a difficult problem. The warders will tell you time and again that after one's release, building a new life is going to be hard. The local people you hurt earlier will always be ready to condemn you; those you injured will not forget you; and the young girls whom you dishonored will not forgive you. This is a sentence that even the court cannot alter. How each one chooses to live with it will be dictated by his own conscience. And you have to go on living. So don't be offended when people you meet raise their eyebrows at your past.

Here's another concern--official relations. The main thing, of course, is the law. You served your sentence and are clean. But throughout life there are going to be bureaucrats and red-tapists who will be quick to point out the "blemish" on an ex-offender's record. These are the type of

people I'm afraid of. When Viktor studied at the pedagogical institute, everyone there knew all about his past. Then in 1970, 5 years after his release according to Article 55 Paragraph 6 of the UkSSR Criminal Code, he was no longer considered a convict. Last year, he decided to train for a new profession and so enrolled at another VUZ. Naturally, Viktor chose not to include the dark side of his autobiography--it's not a medal that you can be proud of.

I can't guarantee that some enterprising administrator at the new institute won't take advantage of this "mystery" and do harm to Viktor. That's why from the very beginning I chose to refer to the hero by his first name only. And I thought to myself that today's pupils at the colony simply will not believe me. And not only me. In our lives significant changes take place for the better. At their basis lies the truth; the truth that ensures Viktor protection against further possible harassment.

In the preceding account, I have written about Viktor Kostyantynovich Yukhon, a history teacher and one of the finest instructors in your school. May the story of his life cause you to think more seriously, more soberly, and more boldly about your own past and future. That is what you Kuryazh colonists need to do more than anything else, as do other pupils in many juvenile offender colonies.

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GEORGIAN PROCURATOR ON CITIZENS' RIGHTS, WORK WITH LETTERS

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 12 June 1987 carries on page 3 under the title "Restructuring: Maximum Consideration for People!" Georgian Procurator V. Razmadze's 4,100-word article examining pluses and minuses in the various law enforcement, justice, and procuracy organs' efforts to deal with citizens' complaints and protect their rights. A large portion of the article focuses on work with letters, which needs to be further improved. The advance of democratization and openness requires "new ways of reacting" to these matters; now more than ever, citizens are demanding satisfaction of their legitimate concerns. In addition, people are speaking up and reporting corruption in high and low places, and must be heeded.

The author sketches a number of episodes in which the appropriate organs, most notably the procuracy, have done a good job of protecting citizens' rights, exposing and punishing corruption, and so on. The procuracy has introduced the practice of going into offices and work places to provide advice and solicit information. Nevertheless, violations persist.

One persistent problem is the bureaucratism that prevails, especially in lower-level organs, forcing citizens to appeal to higher authorities which should not, in most cases, have to be involved. In fact, many lower-level bureaucrats arrogantly dare complainants and petitioners to go ahead and appeal higher up. One very unfortunate result of this is that disgruntled citizens who have lost faith in local authorities gather friends and relatives around them--sometimes including "negatively-inclined elements"--and take their case clear to the capital city (Tbilisi or even Moscow), where they often engage in "provocative actions, excesses, and disruption of social order and discipline."

On the other hand, there is the problem of chronic complainers who keep pestering the authorities over groundless grievances. Such persons have to be firmly rebuffed and their subsequent petitions ignored.

Another negative side to the matter is seen in the still rather substantial flow of anonymous letters, most of which consist of fabrications and slander. In many cases (a few are sketched), spineless officials who are the targets of, in effect, blackmail, have caved in and thereby strengthened the anonimshchikis' hand. Laws against such goings-on must be more strictly enforced.

GEORGIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY CONTRIBUTES TO YOUTH'S UPBRINGING

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 3 June 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "Folk Pedagogics in the Service of Today" a 900-word review, by Tbilisi State University Ethnography Department Docent T. Tsagareishvili, of a new book titled "Georgian Customs in the Upbringing of Children," by N. Kapanadze, a scientific associate in the Dzhavakhishvili Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography. The work is one of a series called "Tradition and Contemporaneity," which was initiated by the Scientific-Coordination Center for Problems of Social and Cultural Traditions under the Academy of Sciences Presidium. Like others in the series, it utilizes ethnographic methods to study folk customs and practices, determine their pluses and minuses, adapt positive elements to contemporary form, and make recommendations as to practical adoption. Ethnographic findings, then, can contribute to the theory and practice of the inculcation of such desired traits as love of labor, physical and mental strength, love of neighbor, internationalism, and patriotism.

The author's studies elucidate those elements which are outmoded, conservative, patriarchal, and magico-religious in traditional upbringing practices, on the one hand, and those which are rational, on the other.

One of the main foci in the work is the essential role played by the older generation--grandmothers and grandfathers in particular--and children's games.

ASPECTS OF PROSTITUTION IN GEORGIA EXAMINED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 16 June 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "Today's 'Amazons'" Manana Kartoziya's and Tamaz Cheishvili's 2,600-word article examining various aspects of prostitution in Georgia, including teenage prostitution. The article consists of sections of a personal interview with a loose-living 27-year-old woman, Greta, alternating with brief factual accounts of the activities of various prostitutes, giving some details as to official procedures in dealing with them, some figures on the incidence of venereal disease, homosexual activities, and so on. The authors note that "not long ago" a shocking case came to light, namely a girl of 13 who had given birth to a

baby and was found to have lived a dissolute life from the age of 11. At the time, no one would print the story, but things are different now.

Greta and her room mate Jane (not their real names) live in a 100-ruble-a-month apartment where they entertain men all the time--but not for money, in fact, and not even necessarily for gifts or food. Jane, who has a daughter living with Jane's mother, supports herself partly with occasional jobs and also does some art painting. Her own words reveal her to be cynical and self-centered, hating any authority or personal commitment, lacking a sense of social responsibility. One manifestation of personal principle, perhaps, is her claim that she does not go to bed with men for material gain but only if she really likes them--yet her venal mother and grandmother, who urge her to at least take "a rich lover," call her a whore. Asked how many men she has had, she shows the correspondent a detailed list of her partners and replies, "You could be the 58th." Spending all her free time on loving men is "better than smoking or shooting dope, isn't it?" But she has nothing against dope addicts: "Everyone kills himself as he wishes." She dreads growing old, for her looks will fade and she will no longer be desirable to men. Though she loves children, she does not think much of motherhood; her own parents are "stereotypes." Sometimes she feels like praying, but does not believe in God--"only Fate." Isn't she afraid of getting AIDS? "Look, if you're going to go fishing, you have to get your feet wet." She doubts that anyone will print her story.

The brief accounts that make up the other half of the article begin with two sisters, ages 15 and 16, who are confined in a VD clinic. They contracted VD from some university students whose names they do not recall; all they remember is the men's looks, what they were wearing, the color of their car. It is noted that Soviet VD clinics send down over 600 requests yearly to trace sexual contacts.

One segment reports joint Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and Georgian MVD raids in Tbilisi, Batumi, and Poti, in hotels, bars, and other public places. These operations netted some 49 prostitutes, 28 of whom were from outside (although in the beginning of the article the authors warn Georgians not to kid themselves: most prostitutes in the republic are from here). A great many were underage and were in violation of passport regulations. This segment also reports the involvement of persons, whether male or female is not indicated, who solicit "clients" for the girls and get a share of the take.

Another segment complains of inadequate sex education in the schools and trade-tech schools. Last year some 20 cases of syphilis and gonorrhea were recorded. Kids expelled from school wind up in the streets of Tbilisi.

In August 1985 a Vilnius woman was caught by personnel of a Reception Center [Priyemno-Raspredelitel'naya?], asked to give a signed statement [podpiska], and released. She then went to Telavi and worked in a cafe. Caught by the militia, she was sent to a VD clinic, cured, released to the custody of the

Reception Center, signed a promise to return home, and wound up in a Tbilisi VD clinic. A similar case involved a Kiev woman. Both women gave the police a list of their contacts but could name them all.

In one segment the authors convey a sense of alarm at society's lack of concern about or influence over sex perversions, such as homosexual activities, and little is being done to detect and register homosexuals. Meanwhile, activities of that sort were found to be taking place in Borzhomi schools, and one homosexual was sentenced to 6 years for infecting a minor with VD.

The authors conclude by noting that under the law, prostitution is not a crime. What held it in check in the past was the force of tradition, of the honor of men and the cult of womanhood. Now, something more is needed, a more powerful lever, for "women have become all too accessible--if you wish, you could be the 58th or the 158th." They urge people to think hard about this, "lest AIDS become a devastating epidemic here as well."

INFANT MORTALITY RISES IN GEORGIAN RAYON

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 17 June 1987 carries on page 2 under the title "Cadres, Again Cadres" Dzh. Mekhrishvili's 1,500-word article about a number of problems in Gurdzhaani Rayon, with overall focus on cadres and noting that, in particular, nomenklatura cadres by and large have failed to meet moral, professional, and ethical standards. Some figures on numbers of personnel subjected to criminal proceedings, expulsion from the party, and other punishments might naturally prompt readers to inquire, "Hey, who's left?" Indeed, the lack of sound cadre reserves is alarming. These shortcomings are graphically reflected in detailed figures on economic failings.

Some sectors, however, cannot be assessed solely in monetary terms: Infant mortality shot up last year. The death rate among infants to the age of 1 year in 1984 was 19.3 per thousand [erroneously given as "19.3 percent" in the original] versus 23.9 for the republic as a whole. In 1985 it declined to 19.1, but in 1986 it rose to 29.8 (absolute figure: 35 infant deaths). [Gurdzhaani's population in 1979 was 76,800; its birth rate in 1984 was 16.8/1,000]. The situation prompted a joint raykom buro and rayispolkom decree on the subject on 26 February 1987, in which the "true state of affairs was revealed," namely that restructuring efforts in the rayon medical association have lagged, and "some medical personnel" have handled their direct job responsibilities in a high-handed, cold-hearted, and bureaucratic manner.

Final sections of the article deal with the deplorable state of affairs in the rayon's public education system, reflected in the extremely low qualifications of school and VUZ graduates and, consequently, the cadres necessary to fill responsible posts. The blame for this is laid squarely on party organizations up and down the line, noting in particular that very few young members have been admitted into the ranks for many years. The Education Department itself has been "granting concessions" to aging teachers who can no longer do a good job, while leaving "more than 180 young teachers unemployed."

SVAN INFLUX NECESSITATES BUILDUP OF GEORGIAN REGIONAL CITY

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 3 June 1987 carries on page 3 Rodam Chachanidze's and Zaur Gomarteli's 1,600-word article "Life Begins Anew," concerning the resettlement of large numbers of Svans from their snowslide-devastated homeland (Mestia Rayon) to districts and towns in southern and south-central Georgia, and the problems and prospects that opens up. The particular focus in this article is on Marneuli City and Marneuli Rayon, whose multi-ethnic communities have welcomed their Svan brothers and sisters with open arms, providing them "ungrudgingly" with housing, provisions, school supplies for the children, and the like. This kind of "internationalist friendship" reflects the region's "real Soviet character."

As for some people's fears that Svanetia itself will become depopulated, there is no danger of that. The Svans, who along with the [Moslem] Adjarians are "the only Georgians who have preserved the tradition of large families," have always had to do some migrating out of their overcrowded homelands. Now they will make a big contribution to the ever-growing manpower needs of the region, whose present and future economic growth potential is reflected in such factors as the completion of the Marabda-Akhalkalaki Railroad, the nonferrous ore facility in Kazreti [Bolnisi Rayon], the Tamarisi Foultry Plant, and certain industrial enterprises in Marneuli City. The village of Tserakvi, until recently nearly a ghost town, will burgeon again in its fertile valley as the Svans settle there: "Welcome, Svans, and multiply!"

A major focus of the article is on the urgent need to begin developing Marneuli City, its layout and infrastructure, in anticipation that by the year 2000 it will grow to a population of 120,000 [the current population of all Marneuli Rayon is a little over 100,000]. The city's Georgian school, which was built many years ago anyway, is now unable to accommodate the influx of Svan children, and a new one needs to be built and the old one converted into a kindergarten. Construction of a swimming pool and sports facilities has lagged for some time. There is no Pioneer House. The city's main streets need "beautification." Consumer goods and services leave much to be desired. One of the worst problems is the shortage of drinking water.

RUMORS OF IMMINENT VOLCANO ERUPTION IN GEORGIA SQUELCHED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 4 June 1987 carries on page 1 among several brief features about continuing natural disasters in Georgia an unnamed KOMUNISTI correspondent's 200-word item titled "Do We Need Rumors Too?!" concerning the fact that, as if real disasters were not enough, some people are spreading rumors which "poison the workers' mood and spread fear among the population." Most recently, it has been rumored that the ground is rumbling in Lagodekhi Rayon [eastern Georgia bordering on Azerbaijan] and that a volcano could erupt there any time. Academician Benedikte Balavadze, director of the Georgian Academy's Geophysics Institute, assures readers that this rumor is absolutely groundless: "Seismological and other observational data indicate no change in Lagodekhi's seismological conditions."

VIETNAMESE AGRICULTURE SPECIALISTS STUDY IN SUKHUMI

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 10 June 1987 carries on page 3 an untitled, unattributed brief concerning Vietnamese agriculture students and specialists who have been, are currently, or soon will be getting diplomas or upgrading their qualifications at Sukhumi's Subtropical Crops Institute, a practice that has become "traditional." In the last while, some 500 Vietnamese have earned their diploma here, and soon a group of 55 more will be starting. The Vietnamese feel welcome in this multi-ethnic "city of brotherhood," where "friendship has grown like the palm tree that Ho Chi Minh planted in Lenin Square some 20 years ago."

GEORGIAN FARMERS SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO SELL PRODUCE OUTSIDE

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 16 June 1987 carries on page 3 under the title "The Peasant's Woes" a 2,700-word article by Tbilisi State University Professor Doctor of Juridical Science Mikheil Kekelia decrying the artificial barriers erected against honest household plot farmers' legitimate desire to sell their surplus produce wherever they wish, and urging that such restrictions be lifted. Otherwise, as practice has shown, they may become frustrated and discouraged and perhaps give up farming altogether, to the great detriment of Georgian agriculture.

In particular, the author urges that the December 1976 decree on sales of surplus household plot products be revised, and that Georgian peasants be given the right to sell their produce outside the republic as well. Elaborating on this topic, he asks why Georgian farmers should be the only ones prohibited from doing so--no such restrictions apply to any other republic. He links this state of affairs to prevalent prejudices (both inside and outside the republic) to the effect that Georgian farmers are greedy speculators who do not deserve their "wealth." Yet they work as hard as or harder than anybody else, ought to enjoy the fruits of their labors, and do not rate the kind of scorn and abuse heaped on them by "city consumers at the bazaar" and by certain "opportunists and scoundrels of rank."

Restrictions on outside marketing of surplus household plot produce are matched by similar restrictions inside the republic--even though no law actually prohibits such sales. The author recounts episodes (including one he witnessed personally) where railroad militia officers detained farmers carrying small amounts of produce they were taking to the city to sell or as gifts to relatives. During the procurement season, Georgia "resembles a patchwork of petty fiefdoms" as zealous "activists" man rayon boundary roadblocks day and night, search cars, and confiscate produce. Farmers can hardly be blamed if they chuck it all and go to work in a factory, thus hastening the decline of the village.

Who actually benefits from these restrictions? Only those bureaucrats who "cannot cope with the [procurement] difficulties generated by their own efforts. What do they care about tomorrow or the long term? Soon they will be securely ensconced somewhere else, far away."

Portions of this article examine other aspects of the difficulties burdening Georgian household plot farmers. They include the fact that 41 percent of small plot holdings are given over to long-term crops, for example laurel trees and pear trees, which take years to reach maturity and intensive loving care to keep producing--but the patient farmer's long-range hope of earning a reasonable gain from his labor goes down the drain when officials, fearing that "the peasants will get too rich," abruptly reduce drastically the purchase prices on which the farmer originally made his decision to raise that particular crop. Again, small wonder when the disgusted household farmer chops his trees down.

Professor Kekelia concludes by emphasizing that successful agriculture requires the right harmonizing of collective and individual principles. "It is wrong to erect a Chinese wall between the collective and the individual."

COMPUTER EDUCATION LAGS IN GEORGIAN SCHOOLS

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 18 June 1987 carries on page 3 under the title "Time Will Not Wait. The Teachers Society and Problems of Computer Education" a 900-word article by M. Khoshtaria, who is a member of the Tbilisi Teachers Society's recently created Section for Informatics and Computer Technology, examining certain problems in the 3-year-old program of computer education in Georgian schools.

The author places these problems in the context of the ups and downs of computerization in the republic as a whole, in the economy and other sectors. Unlike other technical marvels of the 20th century--for example, the telephone, TV, tape recorders, and washing machines--computers have not become "domesticated." Most people, indeed, have at best only heard of computers, or perhaps seen one. In the early 1980s, most economic and other managers were suspicious and fearful of them. This negative attitude was replaced by an abrupt swing to the opposite extreme, where everybody vied to acquire computers whether necessary or not, and were disappointed to find that the machines "could not solve everything at once." The author of the article estimates that it will be 10 to 15 years before computers become a

truly assimilated, functional component of management activities. But preparations must begin now.

Computer education in the schools has lagged for a number of reasons. First, there is a shortage of equipment, and the equipment that does exist is idle too much of the time. Next, methods of instruction vary widely, as do the qualification levels of teachers involved in it. Overcoming these problems will take time. Such vital considerations as "hygienic norms" of work at the terminal [sanitarnyye normy u displeya] must be monitored closely.

On the plus side, a number of ministries, committees, and other departmental bodies have been implementing measures to promote computer literacy. There are, for example, the Tbilisi Computer Club, the Komsomol Agit-Train's Mobile Computer Class that travels all over the republic, the Young Programmers School operated by the Education Ministry's Information-Computer Center, Pioneer computer camps in the summer, and so on.

The Section of which the author is a member functions under the Education Ministry's computer center mentioned above. Its tasks include coordinating all computer education in Tbilisi, organizing TV broadcasts and seminars, holding individual and collective consultations with teachers, visiting the schools to observe and make recommendations, and other measures.

SATIRE DEPICTS JAPANESE EFFICIENCY, GEORGIAN BUMBLING

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 26, 26 June 1987 carries on pages 8-9 Revaz Mishveladze's satirical short story, titled "Evil Smoke," recounting the installation of imported Japanese filters in the smokestacks of a badly polluting Georgian ore concentration mill by a team of Japanese engineers. The story takes place in the fictitious town of Dabazoni, located on the banks of the (real) Rioni River. The project was initiated, more or less by fluke, when a bigwig who was touring western Georgia fell into a fit of coughing brought on by the heavily befouled air of Dabazoni. Until then, the locals simply put up with their poisoned environment, dying trees and crops, and barren cows.

The Japanese were brought in after some of Georgia's finest degree-holding engineers and installers couldn't make heads or tails of the precise, thoroughly illustrated instructions, and had pretty much made a botch of the job. (There were some doubters who even insinuated that the wily capitalist Japanese suppliers had foisted off some of their industrial rejects.) The perpetually smiling Japanese, accompanied by a Soviet Chuvash interpreter who knew nothing of technical terminology, did their best to reach an understanding with their Soviet counterparts but generally failed ("probably the construction of the Tower of Babel proceeded in a more orderly and better organized fashion than this project"). Moreover, they were puzzled by the Dabazonians' interesting concept of "time" and "punctuality on the job," meaning that none of the Georgians ever showed up at the appointed hour of 8:00.

As the work got underway, the Japanese watched in horror as the Dabazonians attempted to make the various components fit by attacking them joyously with files and hacksaws. Fortunately, after lunch none of the Georgians ever returned to the job, and the Japanese managed to undo the morning's "work" and put it together the right way.

Another wrinkle developed when sector officials, concerned about the work's slow progress, declared it a "Shock Project." What this meant was that every Friday, a convoy of Volgas rolled into Dabazoni bearing important executives, who spent 3 hours in earnest exhortation from a speaker's stand erected on the site for the occasion. After each such "ceremony," no more work was done that day.

At first the Japanese were mystified: Were these Friday get-togethers ("so-besh-cha-ni-ya") some kind of religious ritual? Then they became alarmed: perhaps some other firm was offering the Soviets a better deal? Finally the light dawned: The subtle Georgian engineers were on strike! But they were too polite to reproach the Japanese "strikebreakers."

In the end, the Japanese had to do all the work themselves, including the most menial, but by dint of double-shift efforts they got it done.

On departing, the Japanese gave strict instructions on how to complete a couple of odds and ends and, in particular, the need to change the filters' oil and clean the valves once a year--"tasks that any of your engineers can do quickly and easily." But it has been six years now, Dabazonians are happy with the working of the filters--and no one has dared to touch them lest they then be unable to reassemble the things right.

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BRIEFS

TAJIK TELEPHONE NETWORK WIDENS--Telephones have begun ringing in the homes of the residents of the mountain village of Dasht, linking them with the rest of the country. The villagers now have this capability because an automated telephone exchange serving 50 subscribers has been put into operation in Dasht. If necessary the scope of the rural telephone exchange can be expanded. New automated telephone exchanges will soon appear in a number of other mountain villages in the rayon. [Text] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 26 Aug 87 p 4]

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